

The Social Studies

Volume XXXV, Number 2

Continuing The Historical Outlook

February, 1944

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THE SOCIAL STUDIES does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in articles, reviews, and other contributions which appear in its pages. It provides opportunities for publication of materials which may represent divergent ideas, judgments and opinions.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 809-811 North 19th Street, Philadelphia 30, Pa.

Subscription \$2.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents a copy.

Published monthly, from October to May inclusive, by McKinley Publishing Co., 809-811 North 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Copyright, 1944, McKinley Publishing Co. Entered as second-class matter, October 26, 1909, at Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879.

Additional entry as second-class matter at the Post Office at Menasha, Wis. Printed in U.S.A.

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THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XXXV, NUMBER 2

FEBRUARY, 1944

A Plea for a People's University on the Radio and Screen

MARGARET MONRAD

Hamden, Connecticut

I

We are living in fateful times when the future of the world, including our own nation, is being forged at a lightning speed. Old ideas and conventions are crumbling; great upheavals are taking place in our social and economic structures. All the nations of the world are grappling with each other in a mortal struggle. Within a few short years nearly all the peoples of Europe have become enslaved and are in danger of extermination. Our own democracy is threatened from within and without.

I believe that I speak for the great mass of the American people, when I confess that it has taken all this to arouse us from our complacency and inertia, to awaken us to our responsibility as citizens. Dazed and confused we realize at last that we have been living under a delusion; we have taken our democracy, as well as that of other nations, for granted as the very air we breathe—very much as we take a person near and dear to us for granted until his life is suddenly endangered. Then our whole being cries out in anguish and we are more than anxious to sacrifice anything and everything to keep him or her with us.

So today the question looms up, overshadowing all other problems: What can we do to keep our democracy alive? We ask ourselves: Who are the

real enemies of democracy? And all at once it may dawn upon us—those of us who have never even taken the trouble to use our vote, and our name is legion—that it is we, ourselves, who are giving the lie to democracy as a working hypothesis. We who believe with every fiber of our innermost being that democracy is our inalienable and self-evident right, find to our unspeakable shame that we have denied and betrayed that very belief.

We plead, as we always have, our lack of education and our ignorance of political matters as our excuse. But we are endangering democracy fully as much as the other half of the great mass of our people, those who are too ignorant to recognize that enlightenment is a necessary prerequisite for making any intelligent decision, and who therefore vote not knowing what they do—the careless, the prejudiced, the one-sided and fanatical, the morally ignorant and undeveloped, job hunters and self-seekers.

The problem of keeping any democracy alive and growing is synonymous with the problem of the continued education of its adults, not only of its children. Adult education, including that of the heart as well as the mind, is the only safeguard for democracy. There is no other. Democracy means giving each one a voice in solving the problems of human relationships of common concern, which arise daily

out of the world's work, whether in home, school, factory, community or between nations. It means searching after the truth as far as we are able, presenting all sides of a question and basing our opinions and decisions on such findings to the best of our ability.

Founded on the belief that the aim and end of life is not the state but the continuous growth of the individual for whose welfare the state exists, democracy is the only real school of life. Only on its basis, can child or adult ever develop into the full stature of a thinking, responsible, self-determined and self-controlled, socially-minded individual. Therefore it is necessary to allow the purposeful, sustained and vigilant education of our people by giving them access to such a growing fund of knowledge and its meaning, the experience of the race, on which to base their decisions. To stop as soon as the school door closes behind them is a menace to our democracy greater than the attacks of Germany and Japan.

Having lived in Denmark, the land of my forebears, for several years in close contact with the Danish folk schools for adults, the question has of late been much in my mind: Is there not some way by which we, in the United States, could augment and improve our efforts for a universal adult education which has so sadly lagged behind that of democratic little Denmark? Do they not have something there, which might guide us here? It is with this hope that I venture to write.

When, a century ago, the people of Denmark acquired their universal franchise, Bishop Grundtvig, their greatest religious genius, historian, poet, and seer, realized that true democracy could exist only as it went hand in hand with a universal education *that was continued beyond that of adolescence*. He was poignantly aware that if Denmark—economically ruined after the Napoleonic wars and seemingly doomed—was ever to rise again it would have to come about through the common people, by giving them a vision and a purpose through education.

He dreamed of a great folk or people's university, released from the traditional, pedantic methods of teaching, open to all without examinations, entrance or otherwise, where the common man might come and go, absorbing as much as he was able to from the spoken word. Receiving no sympathy from those in power, this dream was not entirely realized in his time, though later, the great folk school of Askov has very nearly approached the status of a university.

However, young enthusiastic educators, most of them distinguished university scholars, believers in democracy and inspired by Grundtvig's ideas, devoted their lives at great personal sacrifices as leaders of smaller folk schools for adults without aid from the government. These schools soon covered all rural

Denmark—their influence spreading in ever widening circles—with the result that the Danish peasant was transformed, within the span of a single generation, from an exploited, superstitious and ignorant boor into the most enlightened, cultured and truly democratic farmer in the world.

The Danish folk schools differ from other schools for adults in that instruction is carried on almost exclusively by means of informal talks. Grundtvig was aware that these untutored farm hands and kitchen maidens could not be reached by the dry, academic book-learning of the schools of his day. With the exception of a small minority, they were not and never would be readers or scholars to any great extent. If they were to be awakened to their country's need and possibilities, it must be through the spoken or "living" word, as he called it, and not through books.

In these schools there are no textbooks or lessons to be learned and forgotten immediately after the final test. There is a library, often used, but no required reading. There are discussions but no recitations, quizzes or examinations in any subject of appreciation.¹ No diplomas are given; these students never "finish" their education. They return home to continue their work on their farms, in the kitchen and workshops, but with a difference. Their work has become meaningful. By listening to the story of man's civilization—his growth in all fields, including his spiritual life—a story told with enthusiasm and with a faith in the potentialities for nobility and achievement in every man, their winter's sojourn at the school has made them conscious of being part of the stream of life, past and future. It has given them a goal; self has become enlarged to include community and country.

Many of them go on to study at agricultural and technical schools, a few of them to the university. All of them have their annual fall and mid-winter meetings, lasting a week, with lectures and discussions, singing and folk dancing, attended by whole families from over a wide area. These replace their former harvest festivals of carousal.

Moreover, practically every rural community has its local organization which brings to it monthly university extension lectures, year after year, where young and old sit side by side on the same bench.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the Danish folk school is that every classroom period begins and ends with a song. We hear a great deal about "songs for victory" on the radio today. Group singing has always been used by the armies of all nations to keep up their spirit and morale. But a century ago Grundtvig seemed to be more profoundly aware than are our modern educators of the cul-

¹ An exception to this are the tool subjects.

tural power of group singing, uniting a people in a common purpose, not for war, but for peace and the living of a good life together. A poet, he realized that much which could not be imparted to some of his people intellectually, might reach them through the medium of their heritage of song. In music the spirit of this small but freedom-loving and democratic nation, with integrity as its hall mark, has been embodied.

That the Danish farmers themselves, without aid from governmental agencies, have achieved the most successful cooperative movement in the world could never have come about without the vision and the feeling of unity and trust in one another which the singing of these songs together has given them.²

Before Grundtvig died at a ripe old age, he had seen his devastated little country turned into a prosperous, progressive and cooperative community by the people themselves. He also saw the most advanced social legislation yet known, where each had enough for a decent living and none too much. And he knew that the spoken, living word was fulfilling its purpose. It had been creative.

II

We, of the United States, have always taken a pride in our system of universal education with its free high schools, night schools and colleges for adults. Nevertheless the fact remains, that a large number of our people do not attend school after the seventh grade. We have no schools for adults comparable to the Danish folk schools whose only entrance requirement is that the student be eighteen years of age or more.

But neither are conditions over here comparable to those of Denmark, a country not much larger than Connecticut, with a homogeneous rural population and with more than a thousand years of history. In contrast, our great continent stretches from ocean to ocean, over mountains, plains and deserts, with enormous industrial centers. We are a youthful and heterogeneous people derived from every nation in the world and from every class, from the most illiterate peasant to the highest type of intellectual.

However, as if to solve this most vital problem of sustaining our democracy by adult education, we have been given a new and marvelous invention by means of which the spoken word may reach all of our vast and varied population that is not in school in a way and to an extent undreamed of by Grundtvig and his disciples. With the advent of the radio,

we may have a people's university in truth, as wide and as free as the air over which it speaks. The white collar and the factory worker, the servant girl and the housewife in her kitchen, the lumberman deep in the northern woods, the isolated farmer on the prairie or high on a mountain side, the fisherman in his lone island hut, our soldiers off duty in their barracks on a South Sea coral reef, all may gather in the same school room of the air.

And this most precious and miraculous means of making possible a truly universal adult education, *continuing throughout life*, we have turned over to the advertiser! Sales promoters of refrigerators, cars, clothing, canned goods, lip stick, chewing gum, chocolate bars, patent medicines and so on ad infinitum are providing the large masses of adults who are not in the habit of doing much reading, with their spiritual and mental nourishment without cessation!

To realize to what extent the radio may play its part in shaping the thinking and ideals of a whole people, we have only to look across the Atlantic at what Hitler and a small band of followers have accomplished in re-educating the Germans to their ideology. By gaining control not only of the schools, but of the radio and moving pictures, in less than a decade he has transformed a people composed of civilized, kindly, home-loving individuals with age-long traditions of decency, who have given the world great music and literature, into the most barbarous and inhuman scourge that the world has ever seen.

With this incredible feat before our very eyes, how can we be so inconceivably slow in availing ourselves *to the fullest extent possible* of these same means to educate our own people for our pattern of life. We, alone, are a nation made up of all races and nationalities. We have been freed from age-old international hatreds and animosities by uniting on a new continent in single-hearted allegiance to the principles of democracy—of equal opportunities for all, regardless of race, nationality, or creed.

Every public school of ours, every factory, every public gathering, demonstrates that it is possible for people of various nationalities and races to live and work together in friendly cooperation on a democratic basis. We have only to glance through a roster of names of those whom we have invested with our local state and federal government to realize to what extent we—in spite of many and shameful shortcomings—have given the lie to the theory of the in-born superiority of any one race, nationality or class.

Because this is what the American nation stands for, the mantle has fallen on us, as on no one else, to cooperate with other nations in building and maintaining a voluntary, democratic world federation in which all nations shall have a voice in affairs of common concern. Such a federation must guarantee freedom and equality of opportunity for all its

²It is significant that Hitler has deemed it necessary to forbid group singing in occupied Denmark. But no one can rob the Danes of their songs, for they dwell within their hearts. I have a letter from Denmark in which a friend writes that there is hardly a meeting or a conversation between two people but that a line here, a verse there, from their treasure store of song is not repeated, keeping alive their hope, faith and courage.

members, making it impossible for any one nation or race ever again to dominate and exploit another to its own advantage.

Shall we again repudiate our responsibility, denying the very thing which we fought for, because we, as a people, did not have sufficient education to know what we are doing?

When there is constant strife—a state of war—between members of the same family we may be quite sure that the family life is not organized on democratic principles. There must be some condition, deeply hidden and unrecognized though it may be, of tyranny, unfairness or injustice—often economic—underlying the discord. No desire, however sincere, no will for peace on the part of all, no endless and repentant new year's resolves will be of any avail until the actual causes underlying the strife are searched for, discovered and rectified. So it is with the family of nations! Our great non-reading, working public must be given that cultural historical background, which will illuminate the causes of our present day holocaust. Only understanding and repentance can give us as a people the wisdom, the tolerance and the power to forgive, which is necessary to solve the many problems seething within and without our nation.

There is much discussion as to how we can preserve our boasted "high standard of living." Are we as concerned about our ethical standards of living? Would it be a national catastrophe if we had plainer living and higher thinking? Unless the salesmanship of things over the radio gives place to the salesmanship of spiritual values, we shall never be able to make the sacrifices of material advantages which will be demanded of us after the war if we are to have a truly democratic world federation. Without the religious spirit of brotherhood galvanizing every soul, high and low, no nation will be able to make the world "safe for democracy," for that spirit is its very life blood, its very foundation. Hitler knew this when he transmuted the Christian Church of his people into a pagan institution. We need to have nurtured in us, until it becomes public opinion, a purpose beyond that of attaining to the ownership of a Cadillac and a goal far removed from revenge, high enough, great and strong enough to create a better world.

Without a far more concerted and sustained effort for a universal adult education including the life of the spirit than heretofore, the world will go on after the war as before, regaining its strength only for another war. All the sacrificial "blood, tears, and sweat" not only of our own people but of the millions, tortured and dying around the world, will have been utterly futile and in vain.

It is not that we underestimate what is being done for education by the radio. The schools already on

the air, the many superb Sunday concerts, Damrosch and his incomparable orchestra, the few excellent news commentators who are true teachers, the town meeting, the frequent forums and round-table discussions emanating from our great universities, religious services and entertainments of distinction are sponsored by the generosity of the broadcasting stations and private business.

But these after all are sporadic and unrelated efforts and only a small fraction of what "business" pours hourly and daily during the week into our homes, shops, offices, and restaurants. Ranging all the way from good to bad, their programs generally have but one aim—that of capturing attention in order to ram inescapable advertisements down our throats. This might be perfectly legitimate if it did not limit the democratic right of our people to a universal education by just as many hours as it usurps the radio.

There is no end to what might be accomplished if all existing educational forces could unite to establish a great university on the air—a university such as Grundtvig envisioned it, freed from a static, traditional, academic curriculum. In a people's university, the staff of all departments, selected from our most outstanding schools, would never cease to work together to study the changing needs of our various groups constantly cooperating to develop and improve an integrated curriculum adapted to these needs.

Consecutive courses providing a growing, related body of meaningful knowledge, popularized, without being superficial, for working people with no previous training would be timed so as to reach these groups in their leisure hours.

Previous to elections, we who have neither time nor scholarship for extensive reading turn to the radio for enlightenment. But we find each party distorting or omitting facts to further their own candidates, reviling and contradicting each other, leaving the listener far more confused than before and unable to reach any decision. Though all parties would have access to broadcasting which in a democracy should be the great forum and town meeting of its people, our convictions would no longer be based on party propaganda alone. They would draw also on that fund of knowledge given on the radio (including recommended reading matter) by scholars and teachers of integrity of various persuasions whose lives are devoted to the search for truth, unbiased and unperverted by party politics, personal motives or other interests.

With a university of the air, soldiers, still in training and not in actual combat, need not necessarily cease all of their studies, professional or undergraduate. Are we aware of the type of nourishment we are providing for them on the radio? Are we giving them

the food for thought which will be of help to them, when they return—these young men who will determine what our future world shall be?

A university of the air never could take the place of our schools. Its chief concern would be for working adults, home makers, and all unable to attend schools. However, the most gifted and creative teachers of our wide land would also enter the ill-equipped backwoods grade and high schools and small colleges by this means to supplement instruction by poorly-trained teachers. This might also be a solution to our war-time shortage of teachers, these outstanding teachers substituting on the air for the absentees.

Such a people's university may, indeed, be very fine but does one ask, is it not utopian? When a man has been out all day in strenuous maneuvers, ploughing his field or after a hard day's work in an office, store or defense factory, he needs to relax. He does not want "educational" nor "edifying" programs. So the radio salesmen provide him with vacuous or insipid entertainment and cheap jazz.

Anyone who has attended labor meetings knows that a hard day's work does not turn a man or woman in good health and with native good sense into a moron in the evening. He is usually much more vitally and keenly interested in social problems than many a sophisticated college student. When he so often falls a victim to a one-sided fanaticism, intolerance and the wiles of a demagogue, it is due to that lack of background and the scientific attitude which are the results of an *education*. These, a people's university on the air could give him.

That courses in the social sciences on the radio may have proved unpopular, should by no means discourage educators. Teachers cannot expect success by simply throwing a body of knowledge at the heads of their students however thorough and well organized it may be. Teaching means the great and difficult art of understanding the minds of the listeners, what and how they think, and from that point making a living and vital connection between them and the subject matter. Teachers who broadcast must have mingled with the groups they wish to reach—miners, factory workers, farmers, etc. They must have talked with them, attended their labor meetings, and above all they must have enthusiasm. Too many professors have passed their entire lives within the sheltering walls of school, university and library.

Moreover, we all know that any significant subject of importance to life may be made more thrilling than the most exciting detective story on the radio, given the creative teacher. Dramatization, so extensively used by the radio advertiser, is now also very generally recognized in the world of education as an entertaining and illuminating method of holding an audience spellbound, while imparting knowledge and ideals.

Nor will a people's university ignore man's most precious capacity for humor, jollity and laughter; it would serve the whole man. But instead of the mediocre and inane, it would have on its staff the world's greatest artists and humorists. It would substitute quality for quantity. Shakespeare and the thinkers, poets and dramatists of all time including our own, the great who have widened our understanding of, and sympathy for human life will enter the humblest of homes. They would enter not as troublesome lessons to be learned, but as beloved and familiar guests around the family hearth, as mother mends the stockings, father smokes his pipe, Johnny whittles his boat, and sister peels the potatoes.

Let us pass over to the second outstanding characteristic of the Danish folk school for adults: It has given to its people their heritage of song, a culture in itself. And here, too, we must acknowledge that we fall far behind. We, as a people, do not sing, in spite of all that is being done for music in the elementary and high schools. How many of us can repeat all the verses of even one song. We say: Give us time, we are too young. With our short history and the constant influx of foreign elements, our heritage of song as a nation must necessarily be very meager. On the contrary, because we are made up of many nationalities and races with ancient cultures, our heritage should be far richer than that of any other single people. It should also include those songs of our forebears that are fine, distinctive and of lasting value and not only the old English folk-songs of the "Daughters of the American Revolution" but also those of the latest Russian or Slovakian newcomer.

Here indeed is a second obligation recumbent on our folk university of the air. It is to select and translate our rightful heritage into our common language with a discrimination, such as only truly cultured poets and musicians are capable of using, native and American collaborating together.

Where local leadership for group singing of these songs is not available, the university of the air will supply it—and it will be of the best—in home, rural school, shop, factory, and last, but by no means least, in the moving picture houses, the real school house of adult America. With words thrown upon the screen until they become our own, thrilling and inspiring community singing will supplant the multiple leg-showing, the shooting and throat-throttling horrors that we now have between even the finest of pictures.

Then we shall perhaps at last "hear America singing" the songs which have been born out of our common human aspirations here or, earlier, in the lands out of which we have emerged. These songs will bind us together in our common humanity—African, Mongolian and Caucasian—Americans all

—sharing with each other the best that we have brought with us.

With such a people's university, we shall at last become educated or cultured enough to grasp the hands of the nations across the seas. We will do this in deed as well as word, singing together with them a song of brotherhood which shall reach around the globe.

III

A mobilization of all our forces for adult education into a great people's university may very likely necessitate that our broadcasting stations be placed under the control of the Office of Education at Washington.

Against any such suggestion, we hear a great cry and hue raised about government ownership being undemocratic. Do we have freedom of speech on the radio as it is? Recently a local consumer's cooperative, after a long and arduous drive to collect enough money from its members to give a series of broadcasts to their astonishment found themselves barred from the radio. Big business does not want consumer's cooperatives, operated by the people and for the people. In the world of music we have a dictator who is threatening the freedom of music on the radio.

Nor would we have any certain assurance of freedom of speech if we placed broadcasting under the control of any one of our private institutions of learning. It is a deplorable but undeniable fact that some of our private universities do not feel quite free to present in complete fairness all sides of a question to their students because of the dominance of big business.

What could be a stronger guarantee of our freedom of speech than a great people's university with that very freedom as its charter, financed by the people through their own Office of Education and thus released from private support. Legislative measures to safeguard it from interference from the politics of the party in power or dominance by any one faction and locality must be worked out with the utmost care, leaving room for future improvements. Professors are human and subject to all our human frailties, but where in the wide world can the search for truth, pure and undefiled, be found if not in the research laboratories of the social and physical sciences of a democratic people's university?

In Denmark, that most democratic of countries before its occupation by Hitler, the people did not feel their freedom of speech or business enterprise curtailed because they placed the radio under the control of their national Department of Education. Parents could welcome the radio into the sanctuary of their homes, secure in the knowledge that their children would hear only the very best in every field. There were no advertisements with their appendages

of vulgar music, insidious love stories full of low intrigue, and everlasting dramatization of murder, violence and gangsterism.

A second objection often voiced is that it is these very advertisements which make it possible to finance all the really fine and educational programs which we have on the radio. This has been refuted by the experience of Denmark. With a population of about 3,500,000 its government has been able to employ the highest talent both at home and abroad (though not at Hollywood salaries!) by levying an annual tax of \$2.50 on every radio owner. With our 137,000,000 we would be able to do far more with a tax infinitely smaller. Moreover, we are indeed blind if we do not realize that every one of us as a consumer more than pays for everything broadcast on the radio as for all other advertising.

IV

Second to the radio in educational potentialities only because its expensive equipment bars it from the ordinary home is the moving picture. This theater with no limitations, this other miraculous gift of our age for the universal culture of a people, we have also given into the hands of profit-making business corporations. To the Hollywood crowd and its level we leave the shaping of our thinking, our tastes, ideals, and moral standards!

We talk of freedom of business enterprise, but the moving picture house manager is forced to take what Hollywood sends him—if a good picture then a bad one with it. Hollywood producers claim that they would go bankrupt if they sent out only the fine pictures. They insist that people want vulgar night club life, blood curdling violence and a humor which consists of coarse horseplay.

They should visit a Danish folk school for adults! The intent faces and shining eyes of young, untutored working people, the ringing out of their hearty laughter, when listening to the readings of their choicest classical drama and poetry belies any such contention.

That the American public submits to what is given them is explicable only because Hollywood has blunted their sensibilities from their early childhood up. They have catered to much of the lowest in their audience. However, the great crowds which flock to almost every picture of real distinction reveal that the majority of our people have not—in spite of this—lost their innate feeling for what is fine and good.

Our people's university would employ and control the main moving picture industry. When will we realize that inventions as revolutionary as these, affecting the cultural education of every man, woman and child, belong to the people and not to money-making corporations?

Scientists tell us that it will not be long before

every radio will be equipped with television. Not only shall we hear our foremost educators and artists speak in our homes, but we shall see them. We shall look into their microscopes and telescopes, enter their laboratories and watch their experiments. Even now we may all listen to the world's greatest musicians, formerly heard only by the privileged few; then we shall also see the world's greatest art.

Though the radio, even when supplied with television, can never take the place of the actual presence of the teacher—the give and take between him and the student—it will again revolutionize the education of adults not in school. May we, the people, beware lest this, too, falls into the hands of the commercial advertiser instead of the people's university before it is too late.

Recently a lecturer at Yale, remarked that the saddest thing he knew was the disillusionment on the part of most of his college students—a disillusionment which was typical of the German student

just before the rise of Hitler. It is a disillusionment in which we, alas, all share.

But who should allow himself to succumb to defeatism! What a challenge, what a stimulus for a heroic and untiring fight against the powers of darkness. For the arduous and sustained work by our young university men and women, cooperating in all fields in their search for the truth which shall set men free may reach every single soul not only in our beloved land but also around the world.

Powerful and dangerous weapons in the hands of a dictator, deteriorating and degrading influences in the hands of big business out only for profits, the radio and screen in a democracy may become the greatest blessings the world has yet known. This can be achieved if they are controlled and used by a "People's University" whose staff has dedicated their lives to the building of a better world—a world of goodness, truth and beauty.

Strengthening Our Morale

ALLAN MATHIAS PITKANEN

Compton, California

So you're worried, in a blue funk over the future, jittery because impending dangers confront you and yours! "Gorgons and hydras and chimeras dire" are all that some people see these days. Yes, though there is ample reason to be vitally concerned about our lot as a free, peaceful people when so imperiled is our pursuit of happiness, our freedom to cherish all that is good in our civilization for which so many have fought and died, it is still not logical to yield to inconsolable despair and wail: "Angels and ministers of grace defend us!" when one feels his courage oozing out. It is important to realize that one's personal battle of life, coupled with the United Nations-Axis Armageddon, is not lost while there is breath and strength to fight.

When a spirit of futility seems overwhelming to the disheartened one, he should review the progress of mankind throughout the centuries, see man climb from a dumb, dark savagery to the heights attained in science and arts. As much as he deplores the meaner acts of man, he should realize that great strides are now being made for a "better world," in spite of this terrible war that forces upon us wide-sweeping changes.

Too often we, impatient and short-tempered, are prone to cry with the blind Milton: "O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze at noon!" Think back on how Americans have achieved many of the ideals that were in the minds of the men who founded our re-

public, how these ideals of freedom and better living for the common man have withstood the trials of past crises and how they still ring true and are worthy of defending with our lives today.

If this review of rather abstract things sounds flat and is not enough to arouse in you a desire to make a stand bravely against the perils that disrupt the progressive growth of these ideals, think back on your own development as an individual, how you have improved yourself, whether you wanted to or not, during your years of living. Think how you could develop your own potentialities if you really wanted to make the effort, how you could make your life worth while. Remember how you have weathered other trying times, and survived. Yes, looking back at what has been endured and passed, there is no excuse for losing a dynamic faith in the future.

Everyone deeply desires happiness, peace, and security. When the foundations for these are shaken, people get jittery. These days are extremely critical, everyone knows; an important transition period in history has caught us in its maelstrom of befuddlement; the basic truths and values we have unquestionably accepted are now shaken and criticized, and, in consequence of this sudden uncertainty in our lives, most of us are in need of a prop to strengthen our weakened morale.

A first step in strengthening morale is to understand the behavior patterns and symbols that create

human action, that bring on or destroy unity and friendliness and the like. These patterns which mark the way people react to one another in a "good" way need nourishing, building up. Dynamic, emotional forces influencing human behavior, unless properly understood, may easily wreck the morale of a nation. Symbols, rather abstract phenomena, such as words like "freedom," "fascist," "love," and objects like the flag, Uncle Sam or Hitler, and other natural loves or hates are daily parts of our lives that affect us very strongly, one way or another. An understanding of the techniques of human motivation allays fear and helps maintain sanity during these turbulent days.

An ancient way of breaking the enemy morale was to torment him with disharmonious, distracting, terrifying noises and threats, accompanied by the use of frightful masks and make-up on the aggressor. This sort of strategy of terror, an obvious type, is effective enough with primitives and children. To sway folks another way was to present them with amulets, special prayers, emblems, which when used would give the wearer comfort and ease of mind. A rabbit's foot as a symbol of good luck is still that symbol to many of us.

Today, however, as so many have realized from past bad moments, our reactions to our world are motivated by a very clever propaganda, so subtle that its propagandistic purpose is seldom realized by the masses. Through the medium of the motion pictures, the radio, and journalism this weapon of intellectual warfare, so important an adjunct of actual military combat, is all-important to morale; it will by a strategy of terror, more insidious than the primitive sort, break one's spirit, or, by a promotion of good will, strengthen it. Every member of a democratic society, where his voice has some weight, should know these forces.

Our problem in a democracy is to guard against a distorted use of these propaganda agencies: the radio, the motion picture, and all forms of journalistic activity, and, at the same time, to keep a sensible freedom of expression. The fair democratic methods of granting freedom of expression should not bring on a riotous confusion.

Nations, like the individuals in them, can become frightened by words, symbols, and individual behavior. A few examples of neuroticism gone wild can be very catching to the unwary multitude. France, we now know, was mentally sick, broken in morale and easy prey to the enemy. These neurotic fears of the future that seep slowly into our thinking are brought on by various causes: economic difficulties, frustration brought on by war, and the uncertainties, the fears, and the distractions that enlarge themselves into gigantic phobias that bring on mental as well as physical collapse. Poor, unhealthy morale

grows into defeatism that, in turn, brings on national disaster.

Too many people have too little faith in the future because they do not want to or cannot see ahead. They are too set in their soft, luxurious living; they are too sure of what a successful future means. People must realize that civilization is undergoing one of its periodic changes. Certain values are being junked; certain comforts are being sacrificed for something apparently of more worth. A new philosophy of life, an enlarged view of society, is growing out of our bewildering mistakes and bungling. Our way of life has received a new type of social emphasis. Luxurious living does not necessarily bring a lasting happiness, but being of public service does.

It is not a new idea that unselfishly serving the group in its climb to betterment is the way to happiness for the server, too. The truly great of the world have known that. Our Revolutionary patriots thought the bringing of a democratic way of life more important to their society than their personal careers, and so must we think today if we are to keep the good things of life we have attained.

In order to cherish the fruits of democracy we must realize that they must be everlastingly watched and fought for in a world far from the perfect state we dream it will be. Democracy is not just a system of government but a conviction that we can guide our destiny, all individuals working together for a united purpose. This conviction must be kept vibrantly alive; it must become the very substance of our daily living, or there really will be cause to fear for our future.

Too often in the past we have neglected to do our share in fostering the growth and strengthening of the democratic attitude. Our failure to vote, to see the social problems that disrupt our unity, to keep our personal greed within natural bounds, our cocksureness of the permanency of our world—all have given discouragement to those who have looked to democratic living for personal salvation. All the minor injustices, intentional or otherwise, add up to a *Total* that looms up to frighten serious-thinking citizens into gloomy thinking that becomes daggers of the mind—"Our fears do make us traitors!"

How can we then dispel these "fee-faw-fums" that breed bugaboos? We ought to drop many of our "importances" of a nightmarish yesterday; ultimately we will either better our way of living or break it. We cannot forget that today all of us are "soldiers of democracy" fighting courageously for ideals and institutions we know are worthy.

No gain is had by making everything dark, by tinging with pessimism every attempt for the betterment of society. A bit of color, swagger, music, mixed in with hard work and a fervent devotion,

not hard looks and a fearful attitude, will bring victory. Long endurance, not long faces, will bring us to a better day. A weak or deceitful officialism, from the lowest to the highest, will not save or better our world. Our supreme moment will come when our uncertainties vanish before a strong purpose for good, when a flabby complacency to evil disappears to strike in furious anger the malignant forces that beset us.

This trouble we fear is but a tremendous fierce flash of lightning smashing an old, gnarled, immense tree infested by a strange assortment of termites. After a thorough cleansing, a stronger growth of justice, security and peace can be had if we think first in terms of community and service to it, less of personal power and property. Life will be happier; we'll live longer; working together we will eventually get a better world!

General C. L. Chennault

JOHN R. CRAF

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By sheer organizational ability and the determination to conquer almost insurmountable obstacles, one man has endeared himself to the Chinese people. A former school teacher, a native of Louisiana, he has faithfully served the Chinese people since 1937. His name is Claire Lee Chennault.

Born at Commerce, Texas, on September 6, 1890, his early boyhood was spent in Louisiana where his father engaged in cotton farming. While attending school, young Chennault assisted his father on the farm and on the latter's advice, undertook the study of agriculture at Louisiana State University. Not completely satisfied with pursuing agricultural studies, he left Louisiana State to enter the State Normal School and to prepare for a teaching career. After graduation he taught in a country school.

At the time of America's entry into World War I, Chennault was preoccupied with the duties of high school principal in Texas. Tiring of his scholastic duties, he entered the Army and was commissioned through the Officers' Training Camp at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana. After serving with the infantry he transferred to the aviation section of the Signal Corps.

During World War I, Chennault did not go overseas but served at various fields throughout the continental United States. He was honorably discharged from the Army on April 9, 1920.

The Air Corps lured the young aviator from his Louisiana plantation within a few months after his discharge and he returned to active duty as a first lieutenant with the U. S. Army Air Corps. A friend and disciple of the late "Billy" Mitchell, a pioneer in army air experiments, Chennault, then thirty years of age, soon began to thrill spectators at air meets, carnivals, and country fairs. Organizer of the "Three Men on a Flying Trapeze," the Louisiana aviator and his companions toured America, intent upon impressing the American people with the importance of air

power and the value of pursuit operations.

His official tours of duty took him to various fields in America. In 1923 he was transferred to the Hawaiian Department to assume command of the Pursuit Squadron. Stationed in the Islands from 1923 to 1926, the flyer studied and analyzed aviation and especially pursuit tactics. He delved into the ideas of paratroopers and air-borne artillery.

In 1926 he returned to the United States. After serving as director of the Primary Flying School at Brooks Field, Texas, he was assigned as a student to the Air Corps Tactical Field at Langley Field, Virginia.

A year of study at Langley Field broadened and increased Captain Chennault's extensive knowledge of aviation. The War Department assigned him to the aviation school at Langley Field which was later transferred to Maxwell Field, Alabama. As chief of the pursuit section of the school and as a member of the Air Corps board, Chennault ably served his country by training pilots. He was cited by his commanding officer as "one of the outstanding authorities on pursuit aviation, a fearless pilot, and an able leader."

During 1934 and 1935, when aviation was undergoing rapid development in America, the future general took part in the National Air Races at Cleveland. He published, in 1935, a textbook entitled *The Role of Defensive Pursuit* which is still widely read. By 1937 Chennault began to feel the effects of barnstorming and flying in open cockpit planes, for his hearing suffered.

This same year, while holding the grade of major, he retired from the Air Corps to return to his farm on Lake St. John near Waterproof, Louisiana. Father of a family of eight children, he settled down to a life of farming which lasted exactly six months.

Never totally in agreement with the Army Air Corps which he claimed officials were operating in 1937 with 1917-1918 ideas, Chennault received an

invitation to visit Madame Chiang Kai-shek in China in July, 1937. He accepted the invitation.

Chennault's decision to visit China and to study that country's cause was perhaps influenced by his old friends of barnstorming days, Lieutenants H. S. Hansell, J. H. Williamson, and W. C. McDonald, who had taken up the sword for China. Invaded by Japan in 1937, the heavily populated and sprawling country led by the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had waged a stubborn, relentless, yet slowly ground-giving war.

At once interested in the cause of the great nation, the flyer began to train Chinese aviators and to teach them the theory of modern aerial combat. Pursuit planes sorely needed for front line defense were used for training purposes and Chinese flyers were taught to fight in pairs or groups. Many times during the early days, Chennault flew against the waves of attacking Nipponese planes and studied the tactics of Japanese flyers.

When not engaged in combat flying, the commander of the Chinese Air Force busily engaged in organizing a series of air bases in the interior of China, in developing an air raid warning system, and in building air raid shelters for the Chinese people who suffered from merciless bombings. The system of air raid alarms organized by Chennault with the aid of the Chinese army and people became quite efficient. After it had been in operation for several months the Chinese Army headquarters was often advised of coming raids while Japanese bombers were still warming up at their bases.

Lack of planes, gasoline, and other supplies and equipment essential for waging successful aerial warfare prompted the Louisianian to return to the United States in 1940 to plead the cause of China at Washington and to beg for planes and supplies. At the time that Europe was in the throes of war and the issue of the freedom of the seas in the balance, Chennault, with the aid of T. V. Soong, obtained 100 P-40 pursuit ships when the export license for their shipment to Sweden was cancelled. Diverted to the use of the Chinese government, the planes arrived without adequate replacement parts. To complicate matters, skilled pilots, adequate amounts of ammunition, and mechanics could not be found.

Faced with a desperate situation, Chennault returned to Washington in the summer of 1941 but gained only half-hearted support from government officials. As this nation was not at war with the Japanese, Chennault could receive no direct support but was granted permission to visit air fields and interest flyers and mechanics in going to the Orient.

He was successful in recruiting a group of adventurers at salaries of \$600 a month plus \$500 for each Japanese plane shot down. The leader of Chinese aviation returned to China with the nucleus of an

aggregation which was to make aviation history and write a saga of fighting in the skies long to be remembered.

The adventurers encamped 150 miles above Rangoon, Burma. Here was organized the Flying Tigers, a group of airmen who knew no fear. Chennault, tactician as well as fighter, trained his men to use to advantage the superior fire power, the armor, and diving abilities of the P-40 and to concentrate on the weaknesses of the Japanese Zero planes.

During the fall and winter of 1941, Chennault and his Flying Tigers wrote aerial history over China. Affectionately known to the Chinese people as the Flying Tiger Sharks because of paintings on their planes, the American pilots made a record that perhaps will never be equalled.

The Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7, 1941, aroused Chinese hopes for increasing allied support in fighting a common enemy. By announcements, early in 1942, by Secretary of the Navy Knox and the First Lord of the Admiralty Alexander that the Pacific war was secondary soon dashed these hopes.

In the meantime, Chennault, on April 15, 1942, returned to active duty with the United States Army on orders from Washington. The Chinese Air Task Force was merged with the U. S. Fourteenth Air Force.

With America at war, Chinese-American relations began to improve. Anglo-American loans of \$500,000,000 and £50,000,000 to China, the appointment of Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell as chief of staff in the Chinese theater of war, and the formation of a Pacific War Council in Washington strengthened this cooperation. President Roosevelt's pledge to fight on to victory with China, Wendell Willkie's visit to Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and the relinquishment of extraterritoriality and related rights and privileges in China buoyed and strengthened the Chinese people then in the fifth year of war with the Nipponese.

Slowly but surely the Fourteenth Air Force grew. Long range B-24 bombers and P-38 fighters with the most modern equipment began to appear in the skies over China. Administrative and mechanical assistance so badly needed by Chennault appeared in the persons of Brigadier General Edgar Glenn, Colonel Clinton Vincent, Colonel David L. Hill, and others.

Supply is still Chennault's primary problem. The principal seaports of China are occupied and controlled by the Japanese; the Burma Road is closed. Badly needed supplies and equipment are brought into China from India but in terms of quantity, tonnage amount to a mere trickle.

Because of the supply problem, the Fourteenth Air Force is confined primarily to defense operations.

It operates chiefly in the vast pocket of Central China south of the Yangtze, hedged in on the north and south by the two powerful Japanese bases at Hankow and Canton. The bombers and fighters of Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force provide, despite geographical limitations, an air coverage of some scope when Nipponese forces in Central China and along the Salween front strike against the Chinese.

The magnitude of Chennault's supply problem may be envisioned more readily when it is realized that to operate efficiently a force of 400 bombers in China a supply of 70,000 tons of gasoline and bombs a month would be required. This would be necessary in addition to hundreds of tons of replacement parts, food, and anti-aircraft ammunition.

Chennault's planning and vision has been sound. Only recently the bombers of the Fourteenth Air Force, with fighter escort, raided the Shinchiku air-drome on the island of Formosa off the east coast of China. The island, considered by military and naval experts to be one of the most heavily fortified of all Japanese outposts, was saturated with heavy bombs. The raid on Formosa is a reminder that Chennault and the Chinese have built advance air-dromes from which Tokio and other cities of the

Japanese empire may be bombed.

After six years in China, Chennault is as nearly Chinese as any American can be. He has accomplished much and has immeasurably improved Chinese and American relationships. His faith in Chinese airmen is absolute. While many of the Chinese flyers operate in separate defensive squadrons, some have come into the Fourteenth Air Force. They have proved themselves to be reliable and hard hitting in battle.

The efforts of the Louisiana flyer in China have not been in vain. The friendliness of Chinese youngsters and peasants toward American military men is a barometer of his excellent work.

In 1942 the Chinese government awarded him the Chinese Air Medal for his brilliant work in behalf of their country. Several months later the British government made him a commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

General Chennault has one great ambition—to beat Japan. He believes that the bombing of the industrial centers of the empire will initiate a series of events which will doom Japan. Meanwhile, with a command limited in strength, he builds and plans.

Preparing for the Post-War Period

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Today our whole educational system is geared to war. Little children in our kindergartens and elementary schools are thinking in terms of the world conflict. The Victory Corps program in our high schools is given over entirely to the promotion of the military struggle. The new courses adopted by our universities and colleges under the direction of the Army and the Navy have one major objective—the successful prosecution of the war.

We are generally agreed that our first task is to win the armed conflict. But a military victory alone is not enough. We must also win the peace. We must prepare now for the post-war period.

We cannot afford to let events take their course with the happy expectation that everything will turn out all right in the end. Rather we must be genuinely concerned about the kind of a world we wish to build in the years which lie immediately ahead of us. We must give serious consideration to the reconstruction period in all its varied aspects—political, economic, cultural and social.

Unless we prepare now for the post-war period, we may lose the very cause for which we are fighting even though we win a military victory. We may

defeat the Axis powers and their totalitarian ideology yet, at the same time, lose our traditional American way of life with its democratic philosophy and institutions.

It is not enough that we train the youth of this land to fight for America. We must instill in them the fundamental principles for which they are fighting. We must imbue them with a burning love of freedom. We must clarify and strengthen their basic faith and vision of democracy.

We must not permit American youth to become hate-ridden. They may hate the totalitarian system with its ruthless aggressions, its horrible atrocities and crimes, but they must not hate the German or the Japanese people as a whole. A major cause of the present conflict is suspicion, fear and hatred—attitudes that grew out of World War I and the period immediately following it.

The National Council for the Social Studies at its annual meeting in New York City on November 28, 1942 maintained that "unless the citizens of the United States can cooperate democratically and constructively with peoples of all lands, the future can bring only an accelerating series of disastrous wars

leading to the collapse of civilization. Americans must know about other sections of the world and appreciate other cultures if a foundation is to be laid for wise international action."

Among the recommendations made to prepare youth to understand the war and plan intelligently for peace, the Council urged:

1. That courses in world history and modern history give special attention to India, China, Russia and the British Commonwealth of Nations.
2. That special units on Canada and Latin America be included in the social studies courses, particularly in grades four to nine.
3. That courses in American history and civics give special attention to the problem of minority groups in this nation.

We should give more emphasis to the various attempts at international organization, recalling how our failure to participate after 1918 was in no small measure responsible for the tragedy of the League of Nations.

Short courses in international affairs, stressing current problems and their background should be developed by discussion, extensive reading, motion pictures, radio programs and other audio-visual aids. Reconstruction problems—both those that are primarily domestic in nature and those that have an international flavor—should be given a major role in the program.

Among the domestic issues to be considered would be the problems of our rapidly mounting debt, price control, rationing and inflation, taxation, relations of industrial management and unions, demobilization of industry, unemployment and immigration.

In the international field are problems connected with the Lend-Lease program. Shall we send large quantities of food, clothing and medicine abroad at the risk of our own nutrition and health or shall we send only our surpluses?

We are fighting to maintain the American standard of living. Can we hope to carry that high standard to the oppressed people everywhere? Do we realize how pitifully low the living standards of the

world as a whole are? An article in *Fortune* magazine for May, 1942 says: "Eighty-one percent of the world's population ekes out an existence on considerably less than \$10.00 a week per breadwinner; and that even in the wealthy year of 1929 in the wealthy United States 60 percent of all families had less than \$2,000 a year. The problem of poverty can be solved only by an increase in wealth and an expanding economy."

What shall be our policy in regard to the formulation of tariffs and commercial treaties in the post-war era? Shall we continue Cordell Hull's program of reciprocal trade agreements?

Can we solve the question of raw materials and markets? Can we avoid the surpluses of agricultural products?

How shall we put the idea of hemisphere solidarity on a sound and continuing basis rather than subject it merely to an emergency like the present war?

What shall be our attitude toward China? Shall we give the Asiatic countries full membership in any world federation which may be established? Are we fighting for the freedom of the yellow race and the black race?

How and by whom shall the internal governments of the conquered countries be organized? During the reconstruction period should the Axis countries be occupied by the armed forces of the United Nations? Should the United States help police the world? How long will our forces be required to remain overseas?

Ever since Pearl Harbor our schools have faced a multitude of war problems. They have responded magnificently to the crisis. Classes in home nursing, nutrition and first aid have been established. Pre-flight and pre-induction courses, requested by the War Department, have been organized. Thousands of high school students have enlisted in the Victory Corps. Accelerated programs have been introduced both during the regular school year and the summer sessions.

We must make the same effective peace effort. We must prepare now for the post-war era.

The Problems of the Post-War Period

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These next few years, along with those of 1861-1865, will stand out as the most critical period in American history since George Washington became our first President. The school no less than the armed forces have a work to do of staggering importance.

As Herbert Hoover put it in his inaugural address, March 4, 1929, in speaking of American public education: "Our objective is not simply to overcome illiteracy. Our nation has marched far beyond that. The more complex the problems of the nation be-

come, the greater is the need for more and more advanced institutions."

In a democracy, the solutions adopted to meet the problems that face the country are those which the people can understand and approve. What they are not up on, they are down on. The greatest problem facing the American people for the next twenty-five years will be that of intelligent participation in working out a world order that will insure peace and the independence of the United States.

Whether we succeed or fail depends largely upon whether the American people are ready to shoulder their responsibility for leadership in establishing practical world relationships. Whether the people will discharge that responsibility wisely will depend largely upon whether the American schools have given the citizens of 1950 and 1960, not the answers to the important public questions they will be facing, but the proper background for an intelligent solution of the questions.

This is the time, of course, when schools should be laying the foundations for intelligent public attitudes upon the great problems with which we will be faced in the next twenty-five years, namely: (1) those having to do with national economic reorganization; and (2) those having to do with the international relationships and peace. Those who waged the battle for free public schools had in mind such a purpose, as is indicated by hundreds of statements that have been made by our presidents and national leaders from George Washington on down.

Washington in his Farewell Address said:

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

Later, John Quincy Adams stated:

Education is more indispensable, and must be more general, under a free government than any other. In a monarchy, the few who are likely to govern must have some education, but the common people must be kept in ignorance; in an aristocracy, the nobles should be educated, but here it is even more necessary that the common people should be ignorant; but in a free government knowledge must be general, and ought to be universal.

Judged from a long range point of view the work of the schools is as important as that of the armed forces. Both must succeed in their respective responsibilities. Winning the war is absolutely necessary but not enough. It merely gives us another opportunity—an armistice for perhaps twenty-five or thirty-five years in which we have a chance to work out world relations or face another war—a war

which we probably will have little chance to win—a war against a billion yellow and brown people.

We have much to learn and much to unlearn. Most of us in our forties, fifties and sixties, may never learn what younger people must learn if we are to survive as a free and independent nation. There has never in history been a "master race" which succeeded. The Persians tried it, the Romans tried it, the French under Napoleon tried it, the Germans have tried it twice—all failing.

There will never be security from war in this world until every powerful nation has given up the idea of the master race—in our case that of Anglo-American or white "superiority." From now on we will always live in the fear of war—of a war we will probably lose unless we assist the 450,000,000 yellow people, the 475,000,000 brown people, the 400,000,000 people of continental Europe to live as we do, supporting themselves on a standard of living comparable to ours, and until we work with them as equals.

The schools must help our young people know these powerful peoples well, their strong points, their weak points, their feelings, their ambitions. Just as certainly as provincialism and isolationism was safe and sound in the nineteenth century, it is dangerous and unwise in the twentieth. When China and India become more powerful than England or the United States—and they will in thirty or forty years, just as Russia has done in the past twenty years, it will be fortunate if we are their friends.

We have no right to be so foolish, so ignorant, so antagonizing today as in the next ten years or so to bequeath to our children and grandchildren, the enmity of a billion or more people. Whether we solve such problems will depend largely upon whether the free public schools of today do what they were established for, namely, to educate our electorate to be wise, far-seeing, practical, democratic, and not conceited, ignorant, provincial and indifferent. We have no right to fail to do now the necessary ground work for taking advantage of the opportunity furnished us by the sacrifices of the youngsters in uniform—the boys who are fighting the war which their elders brought on by their bungling after World War I.

The teacher of today from kindergarten through graduate school, the teachers of art, music, history, home economics, and mathematics, the teachers of second grade and fifth grade, must search carefully to find opportunities for developing the background of information, attitudes, interests and concepts which will contribute to a successful solution of the most important problem of all time—a world order which will bring to an end the slaughter of millions of innocent people and will permit all peoples to enjoy the fruits of modern civilization.

No teacher can discharge his or her responsibility in this important matter unless he or she studies carefully and constantly the world in which his or her pupils will live, its problems, its peoples, its possible trends. No more than the boy in khaki can say, "Sergeant, I haven't time. I'd like to but I don't seem to find the time," can the teacher avoid the necessary sacrifice. Time must be found.

Fortunately excellent books are appearing almost monthly rich in information and ideas about these matters, sound in authorship, reliable and readable.

Among them may be recommended the following:

I. SHORT NON-TECHNICAL RELIABLE BOOKS ON POST-WAR PROBLEMS

Agar, Herbert, *A Time for Greatness* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942).

Chase, Stuart, *Goals for America; The Road We Are Traveling; The Dollar Dilemma; Tomorrow's Trade; Farmer, Worker, Businessman; and Winning the Peace*. Six small dollar monographs. (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1941-1942).

Davies, Joseph, *Mission to Moscow* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1941).

Hoover, Herbert and Gibson, Hugh, *The Problems of a Lasting Peace* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday Doran, 1942).

Hindus, Maurice, *Mother Russia* (New York: Doubleday Doran, 1942).

Lippmann, Walter, *American Foreign Policy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942).

Marshall, James, *The Freedom to Be Free* (New York: John Day Company, 1943).

Motherwell, Hiram, *The Peace We Fight For* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943).

Rugg, Harold O., *Now is the Moment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943).

Wallace, Henry, *The Price of Free World Victory* (New York: Fisher, 1942).

Wallace, Henry, *The Century of the Common Man* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942).

Willkie, Wendell, *One World* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1943).

Willkie, Hoover, Gibson, Wallace, Welles, *Prefaces to Peace* (New York: Book of the Month Club, 1943). Symposium: "One World," "Problems of Lasting Peace," "Price of Free World Victory, Blueprints for Peace."

Yutang, Lui, *Between Tears and Laughter* (New York: John Day Company, 1942).

II. PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICAL ARTICLES

Hansen, Alvin H., "After the War—Full Employment" *National Resources Planning Board* (January, 1942).

Bailey, Thomas A. *America's Foreign Policies, Past and Present*. Headline Books, No. 40 (New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1943).

Dean, Vera Micheles, *The Struggle for World Order*, Headline Books, No. 32 (New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1941).

Educational Policies Commission, *Education and the People's Peace* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1943).

Motherwell, Hiram, *Rebuilding Europe After Victory*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 81 (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1943).

National Resources Planning Board, *After the War—Toward Security* (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1942).

The United States in a New World. A Study and Discussion Outline and reprints of very splendid reports: I, Relations with Britain; II, Pacific Relations; III, The Domestic Economy; IV, Relations with Europe (By the Editors of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune*: Bureau of Special Services, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City).

Revised Historical Viewpoints

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THE INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE¹

No specific date can be set for the origin of the slave trade between Kentucky and the Lower South, nor are there specific figures on the numbers since the trade was chiefly clandestine. After 1815 some minor instances have been recorded by travelers, diarists and by the press. In 1818 Fearon saw fourteen flat-boats on the lower Mississippi loaded with slaves from Kentucky. The Reverend Dickey in 1822, while traveling from Lexington to Paris, learned that one trader at the latter place had an established business with New Orleans. A Lexington paper, *The Western Luminary*, in 1833, described the passage of a manacled coffer or slave caravan through the city. J. H. Ingraham, from New England, estimated that in 1834 approximately 4,000 slaves from Virginia and Kentucky passed through the "Cross Roads" market outside of Natchez. In 1840 the Ken-

tucky legislature was informed by one slaveholder that more than 6,000 Negroes were being sold annually to the Lower South. By 1843 there were established in Lexington at least two thriving firms.

This trade was conducted quietly from 1840-1848 although the press carried advertisements of public auctions and private sales. The traffic became wide-open after the acquisition of Texas and the repeal in 1849 of the anti-importation law of 1833 which had forbidden importation to Kentucky from other states. Advertisements of Negroes for sale for the southern market increased as the dealers often asked for batches of 100 or more. After 1850 Louisville became a strong competitor of Lexington in this internal slave trade. By 1860 more than two dozen dealers, equal to the number engaged in the mule trade, were advertising in the Kentucky press. Many Kentuckians acted as their own brokers although many dealers in the Lower South were brokers as their advertisements show.

Profits were high as the prevailing prices indicate.

¹T. D. Clark, "The Slave Trade Between Kentucky and The Cotton Kingdom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI (December, 1934), 331-342.

Boys of eighteen brought around \$1,100 and girls of sixteen from \$400 to \$700. Men of twenty-four sold for \$1,200 and upward. At one sale at Georgetown on January 1, 1859 twenty-five Negroes sold for a total price of \$20,140. Profits were increased by less scrupulous persons through various tricks such as stealing the papers of free Negroes in Ohio and kidnapping them. Others were resold into slavery through perversity as in the case of a Negro preacher, earlier emancipated by his master. On the latter's death the preacher was inadvertently listed in his estate. He was only saved from transportation by a bargain made between his parishioners and some white ministers. The latter bought him at the auction and were reimbursed in weekly installments by his congregation. Many Kentuckians were impelled to sell in the internal market from fear of emancipation and consequent financial loss, the underground railway, or the passage of abolitionist legislation. To maintain lucrative prices both Kentucky and Virginia in 1859 opposed the re-opening of the African slave trade. If a southern Confederacy were formed it seemed undoubted that these states would prevent such an event for the sake of their own dealers. The trade was financed by the business men of the larger towns including hardware and provision merchants. Kentucky was a natural source for supply owing at first to Ohio and Mississippi river transportation and later to the southward railroads.

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SOUTH CAROLINIAN SLAVE IMPORTATION²

Prior to 1720 there was not much slave importation into the colony of South Carolina although laws passed in the previous sixty years to regulate it indicate apprehension lest they eventually outnumber the whites. Various traders testifying at various times before the Board of Trade in London revealed an increase in slave importation however. They agreed that where formerly 200 to 300 were imported annually, and sometimes none, that after 1725 1,000 were imported each year. One trader in 1726 placed

the number of slaves in the colony at 40,000 while another in 1729 said there were above 20,000 tithable Negroes. Samuel Wragg in 1722 made a contract with the Royal African Company for importing 300 Negroes from Gambia annually. Advertisements in the *South Carolina Gazette* and the records of Henry Laurens afford a rough estimate of annual importations from 1730 to 1775. Over a period of years an average of 2,000 to 3,000 were imported annually. But from 1741 to 1748 the prohibitive duty seems to have prevented any imports at all.

Charleston merchants acted as agents for the British slave traders; some owned an interest in the vessel and cargo. Most merchants sold slaves; before the Revolution over 100 had advertised cargoes for sale. Important dealers were Henry Laurens, Joseph and Samuel Wragg, Thomas Shirley, Thomas Liston and others. These men sold most often on credit to the planters. Sometimes payment was made in rice or in cash. Planters often traveled over 100 miles for the sales.

Negroes from Gambia and the Gold Coast were preferred. Other slaves were brought from Whidah, Bassa, Bance Island, Angola and Calabar, and elsewhere. Sales were made after satisfaction had been given as to tribe, size, sex, age, and health. Contagion from smallpox was chiefly dreaded. As a precaution against it, quarantine measures had been established as early as 1698.

Prices fluctuated owing to drought, wars or rumors thereof, failures in food crops raised especially for Negroes, news of new importations, changes in duties, the opening of new Carolinian lands and for other reasons. Donnan devotes seven pages to a discussion of prices and the causes of fluctuations. Prices were quoted in colonial pounds and in pounds sterling.

In 1774 owing to the great size of Negro population, estimated from 80,000 to 110,000, and the non-importation controversy with Britain, both merchants and planters seemed inclined to discontinue the slave trade. The non-importation agreement pledged them to discontinue the importation and sale of slaves wholly after December 1, 1774. All, as Henry Laurens declared, did not see any economic advantage to Carolina in its continuance.

The Venerable Anglo-Portuguese Treaty

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Prime Minister Churchill's recent announcement to the House of Commons of an agreement with Portugal for the establishment of British air and sea

bases in the Azores, accompanied as it was by reference to venerable ties of friendship and mutual assistance between Great Britain and Portugal dating back

² Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina Before the Revolution," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (July 1928), 804-828.

as far as the treaty of 1373, recalls a wealth of romantic incidents in the life of the two countries. As the oldest existing alliance,¹ renewed no less than ten times, it may well furnish a lesson and an example to a contemporary world in which broken treaties and mutual distrust among nations has been rife. The Anglo-Portuguese Pact has been of the utmost importance to the very existence of Portugal and of marked advantage to Great Britain.

Portugal's origin as a nation is at least partly due to English assistance rendered during the twelfth century. Portugal like Spain became a nation as the result of wars against the Moors who had occupied the major part of both countries. The story goes that in 1147 a large fleet of crusaders sailing from England to the Holy Land stopped at Oporto for water. The Bishop of Oporto persuaded them to defer their journey and with their help King Alfonso captured Lisbon, October 24, 1147, forcing the Moors to retreat south of the Tagus River. So pleased was he with these accomplishments that he appointed an Englishman, Gilbert of Hastings, as the first Bishop of Lisbon. With the aid of later expeditions of crusaders, many of whose members were English, the kings of Portugal succeeded during the next hundred years in driving the Moors from the southern provinces of their land.

As early as the beginning of the thirteenth century Portuguese merchants were settling in English towns and bringing to their inhabitants foreign wares, a service then much valued as the English were as yet largely unaccustomed to voyages overseas. The English kings recognizing the importance of this commerce as a source of revenue issued many regulations for their protection and assistance. This resulted in 1353 in a commercial treaty between Edward III of England and the merchants of Lisbon and Oporto. This was followed twenty years later (1373) by a political alliance. In this the sovereigns of the two countries pledged themselves to be "true and faithful friends" as well as "henceforth reciprocally friends to friends and enemies to enemies" and "assist, maintain, and uphold each other mutually by sea and by land against all men that may live or die."

While it is true that King Ferdinand did not always live up to these far reaching promises, a new treaty, that of Windsor signed in 1386 after Portugal had been rescued from a Castilian invasion by English archers, contained the stipulation that all succeeding kings should confirm the alliance within a year of their coronation. A year later the arrangements were made more binding by the marriage of Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to King John of Portugal. The fact that when

John of Gaunt's son became Henry IV of England his brother-in-law was king of Portugal naturally brought the two countries closer together. There followed a period when they were of much assistance to each other.

When King John sent an expedition against the Moors in North Africa he turned to England for military equipment and Henry V dispatched a fleet to assist in the enterprise. In return Portuguese cross-bowmen joined the English in opposing the French in the Hundred Years' War. It is likewise interesting that Prince Henry the Navigator renowned as the promoter of modern geographical discovery was the son of King John and Philippa of Lancaster. In this fashion English blood may be said to share in the inauguration of the era of discovery.

During the war of Portuguese independence from Spain 1640-1668, the British again proved a friend in need. In 1580 Philip II of Spain had succeeded in annexing the little state. However, in spite of all Spain might do to assuage Portuguese sensibilities national ardor lingered among the masses ready to be fanned into flame. When Spain beset by financial difficulties imposed burdensome taxes and required the service of Portuguese troops abroad discontent became rife. It broke forth in revolts, at first suppressed, but at last in 1640 when the Duke of Braganza and other nobles were ordered to assist their Spanish masters in suppressing a Catalonian revolt, the movement reached the dimensions of a revolution.

The Duke of Braganza, a descendant of the former Portuguese royalty was proclaimed king as John IV. A long struggle lay ahead during which at various times aid was rendered by France, England, and the Netherlands. Charles I of England was the first foreign sovereign to recognize John as king of Portugal.

The treaty which was signed between the two kings on January 29, 1642, was so far reaching that when in 1899 the British government confronted with the Boer War desired Portuguese cooperation in preventing war supplies from reaching the Boers through the Portuguese colony of Mozambique it could do no better than recall its terms, especially Article I which runs:

It is concluded and accorded that there is, and shall be for ever, a good true and firm peace and amity between the most renowned kings, Charles King of Great Britain and John the Fourth King of Portugal, their heirs and successors, and their Kingdoms, Countries, Dominions, Lands, People, Liegemen, Vassals and Subjects, whomsoever present and to come, of whatsoever condition, dignity they may be, as well by land as by sea and fresh waters, so as the said Vassals and subjects are each of them to favour the other and to use one another

¹ It was in existence from 1373 except between 1580 and 1640 when Portugal was under Spain and also for a few years during the Commonwealth period.

with friendly offices and true affection, and that neither of the said renowned kings, their heirs and successors, by himself or by any other, shall do or attempt anything against each other, or their Kingdoms, by land or by sea, nor shall consent nor adhere unto any war, counsel, or Treaty in prejudice of the other.

That these pious resolves were sincerely uttered and that he was truly grateful is shown by King John's persistent friendship for the unfortunate Stuart monarch. He rendered him greater assistance than did any European sovereign. The Portuguese ambassador became Charles I's agent for communicating with the royalists in London and with his queen on the continent. He suffered much annoyance when a committee of Parliament searched his mail. His ill temper was further increased by the British climate. In 1646 he wrote:

For five years I have not seen the sun as God made it. . . . I have spent five winters in which the days are dark; in the winters I was always trembling with cold and in the summer with pest; the men I meet are at least half drunk. . . .

That such sentiments did not deter the realization of policy is evident for he was kept busy on instructions from home attempting to negotiate a marriage between one of the Portuguese princesses and the Prince of Wales, later known as Charles II. This ambition persisted even during the exile of the Stuarts until it was at length realized with the Restoration.

The Portuguese drew down upon their heads Cromwell's wrath by sheltering in the *Tagus*, Prince Rupert's ships from capture by the Puritan fleet under Admiral Blake. Realizing at last the strength of the Commonwealth, Portugal sued for peace. The agreement which resulted proved a veritable *Magna Carta* for English trading interests in Portugal.

Portugal's eagerness for an arrangement even under humiliating conditions which included the payment of an indemnity in compensation for their aid to Rupert is understandable, when it is realized that the country was hard pressed both by a war with Spain and by attacks by the Dutch upon its unwieldy colonial empire. It sorely needed the aid and friendship of some seapower as its own resources were inadequate to keep open the lines of communication with its distant possessions to say nothing of defending its own frontiers from direct invasion from Spain.

The Conde da Ponte was still in England negotiating for assistance when Charles II was restored to his throne. He urged the king to help Portugal against Spain in return for the services it had rendered the Stuarts, and to bring pressure on the king persuaded 200 merchants to petition him for the maintenance of trade with Portugal. As a further means of enlisting military aid for his sorely beset country he pro-

posed that Charles marry the Infanta Catherine, a princess "in beauty, person and age, very fit" for the king and although a Catholic she, it was said, was not of the meddlesome sort. Manchester, the Lord Chamberlain, had replied that while "a Protestant queen would in all respects be looked upon as the greatest blessing to the kingdom; but if such a one could not be found, he did really believe, that a princess of this temper and spirit would be the best of all Catholics." He was also quick to note that England had "a more beneficial commerce" with Portugal than with any other country and this had led even Cromwell to make peace with it in spite of its Stuart sympathies and this "had been the most popular action he had ever performed." When the ambassador saw Charles, he dangled before the royal vision a dowry to accompany the bride of £500,000 (about \$2,500,000), clearly enough to whet the appetite of any monarch of that day and said to be "double to what any king had ever received in money by any marriage." But this wasn't all, for the ambassador proceeded to offer in addition the cession to England of the port of Tangier in North Africa. Portuguese generosity did not even stop with these rich lures for the English were besides promised "free trade in Brazil and in the East Indies," which the Portuguese "had hitherto denied to all nations but themselves." Furthermore, to secure the Indian trade Charles might have with his Portuguese bride "the island of Bombayne" (Bombay). These overly generous offers were certainly sufficient to incite an impecunious and spendthrift monarch and overcome the religious scruples of his people.

But there was a "fly in the ointment" which soon appeared when Da Ponte sought to get Charles to promise to protect Portugal against its enemy, Spain. Cautious Charles would not commit himself to war, but he was willing to allow Portugal to carry out a provision it had already made with Cromwell for recruiting at Portuguese expense 6,000 troops in the British Isles. Charles likewise agreed that if he were forced into a war by Spain as a result of this aid or because of his proposed marriage he would aid Portugal to the best of his ability. While Da Ponte was naturally disappointed that he was unable to persuade Charles completely to commit himself, he reflected that such a marriage might discourage Spanish aggression while raising Portuguese morale, and the probabilities were that England would be drawn into war with Spain. As a maritime power it might be even more useful in preserving the hard pressed Portuguese colonial empire against the inroads of the Dutch.

While it had been intended to keep the news of the impending match from the public until final guarantees were received from Portugal it was communicated to the Spanish ambassador, the Baron de

Batteville, by the Earl of Bristol, a Catholic lord in whom the king had unwisely confided. At once trouble began. De Batteville, although he had been pledged to secrecy, broadcast the news. He not only told Charles that the king of Spain would resent such an alliance, but said that his proposed bride was "deformed and was afflicted with many diseases" and that it was "very well known in Portugal and Spain that she was incapable to bear children." These arguments together with the probability that the Portuguese match would cause war made Charles less anxious for it. They also inclined him to look with some favor upon proposals made by the Earl of Bristol and the Spanish ambassador for a match with one of two princesses of Parma, either one of whom De Batteville promised the king of Spain would dower as one of his daughters. Bristol was sent post haste to Italy to view the ladies and if favorably impressed to start negotiations. One glance, however, convinced him that they would never do for such a connoisseur of beauty as Charles, for one was too fat and the other too ugly.

Baron de Batteville thereupon, artfully stressing the unpopularity of a Catholic match for Charles, offered to have the king of Spain adopt as daughter and also to dower a Protestant bride if he would only consent to have her. Such a lady might be found in the daughter of the king of Denmark or of the Elector of Saxony. Still more interesting, the Portuguese ambassador informed his government that the representatives of Spain, France, Denmark, and Holland had agreed to combine their resources to outbid Portugal in dowering one of a number of princesses Charles might favor. Batteville further voiced as his opinion that Portugal could never raise as much money as it had promised. When other devices failed, he resorted to threatening war, saying that if Charles "should proceed towards a marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Braganza, his master's rebel, he had an order to take his leave presently, and to declare war against him."

Several things appear to have decided Charles to persist in the Portuguese match. Above all, Catherine's portrait which represented her as "a lovely, glowing brunette, with large black eyes, and a rich profusion of chestnut hair" convinced him that she was not ugly and deformed as the Spaniards had stated. He is said to have remarked: "That person cannot be unhandsome," and at once to have agreed to receive the Portuguese envoy whom he had neglected to notice for some time.

What the reactions of the pleasure-loving monarch might have been if he had fully reflected upon his envoy Maynard's description of her are conjectural. Enthusiastically writing to Charles' secretary he describes Catherine's qualities thus:

She is as sweet a dispositioned princess as

ever was born, a lady of excellent parts, but bred hugely retired. She hath hardly been ten times out of the palace in her life. In five years' time she was not out of doors, until she heard of his majesty's intentions to make her queen of Great Britain; since which she hath been to visit two saints in the city, and very shortly she intends to pay her devotions to some saints in the country.

Charles' Portuguese marriage was also greatly furthered by a secret message from Louis XIV of France who expressed his regret that it had been delayed and gave his opinion that Catherine was a lady of "great beauty and admirable endowments." He also said that once he contemplated marrying her himself but that his mother, a Spanish princess, objected. To prevent Spain from acquiring Portugal which would upset the balance of power he desired to aid her but felt he could not do so openly. He offered Charles 300,000 pistoles as a subsidy towards sending troops to Portugal and said he could not do better than to marry Catherine.

At length an English fleet was ready to go and take possession of Tangier and to bring Catherine to her intended husband in England. It arrived in Portugal in time to help save that country from the Spanish who hastily retired from the siege of a port near Lisbon. In one respect, however, the English were soon to be disappointed. The Portuguese ambassador had previously reported that the queen regent had disposed of her jewels and silver plate to raise the promised dowry and had it all ready reserved for that purpose. But when it came to the point of handing it over to the English it was found that half of it had been spent for troops to resist the Spanish. Even the other half of the dowry was provided in bags of sugar, spices and other merchandise instead of gold and silver. The Portuguese government gave its bond to pay the rest of the dowry within a year.

The Portuguese marriage resulted in the treaty of Whitehall, June, 1661, between the two countries which consummated an alliance which has continued unbroken to the present day. It was mutually advantageous. In 1661 Charles II mediated a peace between the Portuguese and Dutch, and helped in 1668 in securing Spanish recognition of Portuguese independence. Moreover, by a secret clause of the treaty of 1661 the king of Great Britain promised "to defend and protect all conquests or colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal against all enemies as well future as present." This clause was cited in the later negotiations of 1898, and doubtless had much to do with the preservation of such a large and valuable colonial empire to so small and weak a power as Portugal.

The treaty of 1661 helped to originate British power in the Mediterranean and in India. As Claren-

don pithily put the matter, the commercial advantages "make the merchants much enamored of it, and sure we have very ill luck if in the East and West Indies they do not make incredible benefit by concessions even to their own hearts' desires." It should also be noted that during times of continental wars when England had to contend with many enemies she could always rely upon Portuguese ports being open to her trade.

With the coming of the eighteenth century we find the treaty relations between the two countries in force. Portugal in 1703 joined the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV of France, and all former treaties were reconfirmed. They, according to the language of the treaty, were "to be exactly and faithfully observed . . . so that there shall be between the said Kingdoms and States, their people and subjects, a sincere friendship and perfect amity; they shall all of them mutually assist one another; and each of the said powers shall promote the interest and advantage of the rest, as if it were his own."

That same year (1703) the king of Portugal promised by the famous Methuen Treaty "both in His own name and that of His successors, to admit for ever hereafter" British woolen goods into Portugal and in return the British government was to "for ever hereafter . . . admit the wines of the growth of Portugal into Britain" at a third less duty than that levied against French wines. This accounts for the wide use of port in England as well as much affliction of the gout. By the middle of the century the English so monopolized the trade of Portugal that the Portuguese statesman Pombal remarked:

In 1754, Portugal scarcely produced anything toward her own support. Two-thirds of her physical necessities were supplied by England. England had become mistress of the entire commerce of Portugal, and all the trade of the country was carried on by her agents. The English came to Lisbon to monopolize even the commerce of Brazil. The entire cargo of the vessels that were sent thither, and consequently the riches that were returned in exchange, belonged to them. Nothing was Portuguese but the name.

It was said that as much as \$243,000 flowed every week from Portugal to England.

When Portugal was invaded in 1762 by a Spanish army it invoked the treaty of 1703 and secured British military assistance. In 1793 during the French Revolutionary wars, Portugal closed its ports to the French, having been asked to do so by England. Four years later when Portugal was again threatened with invasion by a French-Spanish force the British government sent an expedition. Some years afterwards, however, Portugal, largely because of its loyalty to the British alliance, was invaded by a Span-

ish army, obliged to cede territory, and pay a large indemnity. This time the British did not render assistance.

In 1807 Napoleon plotted with Spain to invade and divide Portugal. The Portuguese regent Dom John established a Council of Regency in Lisbon and set sail with his family, court nobles and the royal treasure for the great Portuguese colony of Brazil. He left his country to the protection of the British. They made it both the base for their army and fleet and fought in cooperation with the Portuguese the Pensinsular War against the French and Spanish armies.

Following the Napoleonic wars the British exerted so much influence over the Portuguese Council of Regency and army that they became very unpopular. The old alliance however had been renewed in 1810 with just as resounding professions of mutual respect and devotion. Once again in 1873 when the Spanish were contemplating an attack on Portugal they were emphatically warned by the British government that it was pledged to defend it against external aggression.

The imperial interests of the two powers did however at times clash as when the British attempted to stamp out the slave trade with which the Portuguese were reluctant to part, and when Great Britain blocked Portugal's ambitious plans to secure Central Africa in order to join its colonies on the east and west coasts of that continent to each other. The British who derived much profit from assisting in the exploitation of Portugal's African dependencies and actually had about \$125,000,000 invested there, were anxious to either preserve them under Portuguese rule or at least to prevent them from falling into other than British hands. However, when Portugal in 1898 fell into desperate financial straits and there appeared to be some danger that it might have to dispose of its rich colonies, Great Britain did make an agreement with Germany concerning them. In case Portugal either wished to sell them or borrow money from Great Britain and Germany on the security of their revenues, it was determined which portion should be assigned to each power.

However, the British chose to think of the Portuguese African colonies as their special preserve and consequently did all they could to delay the realization of such a partition. Balfour informed the Portuguese ambassador of the secret negotiations and possibly assisted by England, Portugal managed to avoid the issue by borrowing the necessary funds in Paris on the security of domestic rather than colonial revenues. The incident may have cast a shadow of suspicion and doubt over the long-standing Anglo-Portuguese friendship and it did arouse Portuguese determination as a matter of pride to retain at all costs what remained of the empire.

The Portuguese colonies not only possessed many resources but they were strategically located in relation to South Africa, and when in 1899 trouble arose between the British and the Boers it behooved them to stop the Boers from importing war supplies through Lorenzo Marques in Portuguese Mozambique from which a railway ran to the Transvaal. Realization of weakness as well as remembrance of ancient ties doubtless induced the Portuguese to meet with British necessities. In spite of much popular sympathy in Portugal for the Boers, the government agreed that once war was declared between Great Britain and the South African Republic the Portuguese would not permit the passage of Boer war supplies through their colonies nor would they declare neutrality. Consequently British warships might use Portuguese colonial harbors. The agreement was careful to reaffirm the clauses of mutual assistance found in the treaty of January 29, 1642, and the secret clause of the treaty of 1661, pledging the British monarch to protect Portuguese oversea possessions.

One somewhat wonders therefore at the resumption in 1912-1914 of Anglo-German negotiations concerning the Portuguese colonies. The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was naturally strained once more by these events. On the other hand, Portugal's more recent support of General Franco during the time of the Spanish Civil War proved unpopular in Eng-

land. However, Portugal at the opening of the First World War in 1914 expressed its willingness to fulfill its treaty obligations. Once more, on May 22, 1939, it reaffirmed its adherence to the traditional alliance, and in September of the same year when Great Britain was drawn into war with Germany it confirmed its obligations under the old pacts. In both World Wars Great Britain had preferred that Portugal remain neutral.

In 1914, as now however, Portugal's island possessions, notably the Azores, are strategically located for winning the "battle of the Atlantic." In the First World War the Azores were used as a coaling station and in 1917 at the height of the submarine campaign the United States Navy was permitted to establish a base at Ponta Delgada harbor. And once again in the hour of need the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance has been invoked with satisfactory results, for the British have been granted naval and air bases in the Azores from which they may extend a protecting umbrella to convoys negotiating the dangerous Atlantic passage and thus will still further be able to meet the submarine menace.

Furthermore, Churchill, in his statement to the House of Commons on October 12, 1943, said: "In the view of His Majesty's Government this agreement should give new life and vigor to the alliance which has so long existed between the United Kingdom and Portugal to their mutual advantage."

The Origin and Growth of the Medieval Universities

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From the time of the Carolingian revival in the eighth century the schools that clustered around monasteries and cathedrals offered more or less serious instruction in the familiar seven liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. Fitfully before the eleventh century and more consistently afterwards, the scholars in these centers helped perform the first intellectual task of the Middle Ages: the rediscovery and preservation of the old learning, the selection and compilation of the parts most useful for their needs. This work went slowly at first, but eventually the schools reached a point in cultural development where we can almost see them growing.¹

¹ Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, 2 vols. I (London, 1911), 3-22; Stephen d'Irsay, *Histoire des Universités Françaises et Etrangères*, 2 vols., I (Paris, 1933), 39-52.

It was partly a very natural growth, as we normally expect a moderate amount of progress in a people during the passage of centuries. Certain incidents or conditions of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries served to hasten this intellectual progress and were, in turn, influenced by it. Increase in trade was especially decisive in Italy, both as occasioning travel and in creating a demand for trained business men. The Crusades played their part in establishing contact with Greeks and Arabs and in stimulating men by travel and association. Feudal and royal courts settled down somewhat and frequently became small centers of literary activity. They also called for trained servants, as did the Curia. The Church, on the defensive with the rise of heretical movements, encouraged training that would help confound the sceptics. Many of the cathedral chapters were nuclei for study and

discussion. Finally, the growth of towns created areas where many people could conveniently congregate, and nothing was more natural than that men desirous of learning should gravitate toward those centers where it could be found.²

As time passed some of the earlier schools developed along one line and some another, while some never became very considerable at all. For different reasons, during the twelfth century we find certain of them reckoned as more important than others and designated by the phrase *Studia generalia*. At first a vague title, *studium generale* came in the thirteenth century to mean a school that numbered students from many countries, that had more than one master teaching in it and that offered courses in more than one faculty. Usually there would be a faculty of arts and one or more of the "superior" faculties of theology, law or medicine. When many clerics holding benefices desired leave of absence to study, the term also implied a school for which they could receive the coveted dispensation without losing their revenue. Finally, some schools acquired such a reputation for well trained scholars that their graduates were allowed to teach anywhere without further license; Popes and emperors formally secured this right to the universities they founded or favored, and later jurists took the position that "the essence of the *studium generale* was the privilege of conferring the *ius ubique docendi*, and that no new *studium* could acquire that position without a papal or imperial Bull."³

In the demand for specialized training that called into being the superior faculties, medical instruction came first and found its earliest home in Salerno, Italy. The origin of the school is lost in the past, but it was certainly well known by the tenth century and was famous all over western Europe by 1050. The town had long been a health resort, and the Greek influence in southern Italy and connections with the Eastern Empire insured its acquaintance with the writings of Galen and Hippocrates.⁴ The earliest formal grant of privileges to students was made by Robert Guiscard and his son Roger before the close of the eleventh century.⁵ It had a medical literature

of its own and preserved its simple, common-sense remedies in two popular treatises in verse.⁶ In 1231 Frederick II acknowledged its high standing by requiring any physician practising in Sicily to be examined by the Salerno doctors before he could receive the royal license. With the reception of the more popular Arabic medicine elsewhere, its reputation declined by 1300, although it continued as a medical school until its suppression by Napoleon.⁷

The revival of learning in North Italy placed the emphasis on law, civil and canon. The Roman legal tradition had an unbroken continuity within the Italian towns; new varied commercial transactions called for skill in its interpretation; and the struggle between Pope and Emperor provoked new constitutional questions with a premium in influence and preferment for the men who could answer them. The study of law had always been carried on as a part of the rhetoric course, in which special attention was given to the composition of legal forms, and it is likely that this "juristic" side soon assumed most importance.

In the eleventh century, the *Digest*, that part of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* which contains the pleadings of the great classical jurists, was brought to light, and with its explanation in the schools, men and rulers began to realize the possibilities of its application. When a remarkable teacher like Irnerius appeared at Bologna and began to lecture there (c. 1100-1130) on the whole of the *Corpus*, the rapid growth of the schools in that town is accounted for. A few years later (c. 1142) Gratian published his *Concordantia discordantium canonum* (better known as the *Decretum*), which was accepted as the official summary of the first part of the canon law, and that branch of legal study also rapidly increased in popularity and drew many students to the lecture rooms. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* supplied a justification for the Emperor's claims of supremacy in Church and State, while the *Decretum* gave authoritative sanction to papal aspirations, and both appeared in the schools at a time when the investiture struggle and other differences between Rome and the Empire loomed large in men's minds.⁸

In France the ecclesiastical control of the schools had always been more complete than it was in Italy, and that fact probably helps to account for the theological and philosophical line the higher studies took at Paris. The cloister schools of Notre Dame and the collegiate church of Ste. Geneviève on the left bank of the river had already profited from their location in the Capetian capital when Abelard (1079-1142) decided to study and teach there and by the magic of his eloquence and personality drew an unprecedented

² C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pp. 54-67.

³ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols., I (Oxford, 1936), 1-17. On practically any phase of the constitutions and life of the medieval universities, this is the most desirable single work in English and forms the starting point for all other studies. Other good short accounts are found in J. B. Mullinger, "Universities," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, New York, 1935, XXII; and in Hastings Rashdall, "The Medieval Universities," *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI (Cambridge, 1929), Chap. XVII.

⁴ Hastings Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 75-82; F. A. Ogg, *Source Book of Medieval History* (New York, 1907), p. 341; C. H. Haskins, *Renaissance*, pp. 322-324.

⁵ S. S. Laurie, *The Rise and Early Constitutions of the Universities* (New York, 1907), p. 115.

⁶ Stephen d'Irsay, *Histoire*, I, 102-110.

⁷ Hastings Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 82-85.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 87-141.

number of students into his classroom. His own master, William of Champeaux, was the first individual teacher to make a name for himself there before he was vanquished in argument by his ambitious pupil.

Abelard helped to fix the trend of future studies by his deliberate application of dialectic to philosophy, and though St. Bernard challenged his boldness in subjecting the tenets of faith to reason and temporarily silenced him, his disciples were legion, and not only his major premises, but his dialectical method, became the accepted usage in future theological study. His personal following was not the whole secret of the growth and direction of the Paris schools, any more than Irnerius' at Bologna. In fact, the ambitions of both the Breton and the Italian drew them to schools already renowned in the subjects they came to elaborate. But in a day when there was little or no organization, the relation between master and scholars counted for a great deal, and a brilliant, popular teacher appearing at the critical moment had something to do with determining the genesis and development of the institution.

II

The growth of these popular schools into well defined corporate entities was a slow process, with many features continuing vague and informal after the usual method of medieval constitutional development. The modern student needs to exercise care in attributing to all early institutions the clearly limned characteristics we associate with these today. When we now speak of a "university" we have a quite definite and specialized organization in mind, but the Latin *universitas* from which the word is derived was a very general term in the Middle Ages.

It meant simply any group of people taken as one. A preacher might address it to his congregation, as we say, "all of you." Later it was applied to a municipal corporation or to a trade guild, with a modifying genitive to distinguish the particular one designated. Indeed, the *universitas magistrorum* or *scholarium* was at its inception merely an extension of the guild idea to an association of masters or scholars formed when the number of students had grown so great that the simple master-pupil relation no longer worked satisfactorily. Like the corporations of tradesmen it evolved to meet the need of protection for its members and to maintain desirable standards of work. Its various practices of examinations, degrees and reception of associates, and its demands for corporate privileges grew out of customs long held by the other guilds.⁹ The extra privileges it attained are due to its ecclesiastical connections.

It is not possible to say exactly when the organiza-

tion of the older schools was completed. Their evolution was very gradual; some acquired one definite character of a corporation first and others, another. The medieval jurist did not consider a charter necessary for legal incorporation, and when such came to a school from Pope or secular ruler, it usually merely confirmed customs already well established and recognized. The earlier universities were truly "spontaneous."

The first official recognition of a class of students as such is found in the *Habita* issued by Frederick Barbarossa from Roncaglia in 1158. "We will," he says, "that the students, and above all the professors of divine and sacred laws, may be able to establish themselves and dwell in entire security in the cities where the study of letters is practiced. It is fitting that we should shelter them from all harm. Who would not have compassion on these men who exile themselves through love of learning, who expose themselves to a thousand dangers, and who, far from their kindred and their families, remain defenseless among persons who are sometimes of the vilest?" Then he decreed that cases in which a student was the plaintiff would be tried where he was in residence, and that anyone bringing suit against a scholar must cite him before his master or the bishop of his diocese. These privileges are extended to all the Lombard Kingdom, but it is presumed Bologna was especially implied. No organized body is mentioned.¹⁰

When the associations do emerge in defined form, there were two distinct types: the university of students, of which Bologna was the arch-type, and the university of masters, for which Paris supplied the model. The constitutions of all medieval universities followed one or the other of these, sometimes combining features of both. The explanation for the pre-eminence of the student organization at Bologna is to be found in the wealth and relative maturity of the law scholars.

Often men of affairs and experience, they were of no mind to submit to annoyances at the hands of the townsmen. There was nothing strange in the idea of a personal law which a man carried with him when he went into a foreign country, nor in that of association, so the municipal government does not seem to have opposed the formation of the virtually self-regulating societies until their demands became so audacious at a later period. Of course the citizens of Bologna did not belong, because they had no need for the protection the aliens sought in union.

The most effective instrument the University used

¹⁰ Gabriel Compayré, *Abelard and the Origin and Early History of the Universities* (New York, 1910), p. 76. If it is true, as tradition has it, that the Bologna doctors encouraged Frederick in reimposition of the imperial authority over the Lombard cities, his touching concern for their welfare becomes less altruistic.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 4-6, 151-152.

to bring the town to terms was the threat of secession. Lacking material equipment, the group could very simply migrate in a body to a more friendly city whenever it deemed itself aggrieved at Bologna, and rarely did such a measure fail to attain the desired privileges. The great number of men meant much to the prosperity of the citizens, and the fame of the school added to their prestige. The municipal government passed one statute after another in an effort to make these migrations difficult, but usually paid for the reconciliation. As the city gradually recognized the University's authority over the landlords who rented houses to students and over the tradesmen with whom they particularly dealt, the school could usually keep these under its control by virtue of the "interdict" which forbade any business transactions between students and a "client" in disfavor.

Probably the law students of Bologna were organized in some fashion during the last quarter of the twelfth century. By at least 1250 there were two well defined jurist universities: the Cismontane and the Ultramontane, according to whether their members came from south or north of the Alps. These in turn were divided into from fourteen to seventeen *consiliariae* or "nations," serving as units from which an executive council was chosen and as fraternal groups for "mutual amity, consolation, and support" of the members. Each university chose annually a rector whose authority was purely executive and rested on the sworn oaths members took on admission. Although separate, the two law universities eventually invariably acted as one under the joint or alternate headship of the rectors. The students in arts and medicine retained the traditional division into four nations and had no constitutional connection with the lawyers. Theology remained in the hands of the friars until 1360, when Innocent IV created a faculty in that branch.

At first the students claimed no control over the *studium*, which was managed by the college of doctors, but the teachers resented the scholars' assumption of complete authority in even their own affairs, very much as a master tradesman would be shocked by such independent action of the part of his apprentices. Also they were usually citizens of Bologna, and when trouble broke out between the students and the municipality, they alienated the scholars by aligning themselves with the townspeople.

The students retaliated by adopting the same tactics of boycotting that had proved successful in handling the citizens and soon forced their teachers to take the oath to the rector and submit to a humiliating regulation of their conduct. They were fined for absence from class or evasion of difficulties in covering a text and as a crowning indignity had to make a deposit of ten pounds at the beginning of the term from which these fines might be deducted. Student

committees were appointed to observe and report on any lapses. Even the election of professors to salaried chairs was in student hands for a time, but as salary payments by the city increased, the government exercised more control over appointments.

In spite of their embarrassing position, however, the doctors retained the unique power of conducting examinations, granting degrees and admitting candidates to membership in their own masters' guild. They also conferred the license to teach until 1219 when Honorius III brought Bologna into line with the general tendency of ecclesiastical supervision of the schools by appointing the archdeacon to give the permission.¹¹

III

The University of Paris had her difficulties with the town, also, but the organization of the masters was largely an outcome of the struggle with the Bishop's representative, who sought to extend the control he had long exercised over the cathedral school to the more advanced ones crowding the Ile de la Cité and Mount St. Geneviève. This official, known in Paris as the Chancellor, had authority to license masters to teach in the schools under his direction and had made the granting of the permission an occasion for considerable profit from fees. The simony was condemned in several papal decrees, but the prohibition was frequently ignored, as was the Lateran Council ordinance of 1179 which ordered the Chancellor to grant a license to any properly qualified candidate.¹²

We saw how the number of Parisian students, and consequently of masters, had grown to a considerable size even in the days of Abelard, and it is reasonable to suppose they were already conscious of their interests as a special class and had acquired certain customs that had almost the force of law. In fact, part of the conservative opposition against the rebel Abelard was that he presumed to lecture without a master to sponsor him. That they were acting as a group at an early date, however loosely organized, is evident from the right of secession granted them by Louis VII (1138-1170).¹³ They used this permission both to force the Chancellor to recognize their right of forming a guild and recommending candidates for the license and also to compel the municipal authorities to do justice to their clerical members.

In 1200 an incident occurred that brought matters to a show-down with the town and gained the *studium* unequivocal privileges before the law. The provost of Paris and his men interfered in a tavern brawl, a servant of the influential Bishop-elect of Liege was assaulted, and in the ensuing riot five scholars were killed. Philip Augustus took sides with

¹¹ Hastings Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 142-232.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 279-282; 304-306.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 291-292.

the school, condemned the offending provost to perpetual imprisonment, and decreed that henceforth no scholar was to be arrested by an ordinary judge unless there was urgent necessity for it, and even then he was to be turned over to the ecclesiastical judge immediately. He could be tried nowhere except in the court of the Bishop of Paris. Henceforth within the State the University was practically autonomous.¹⁴

This royal charter served to consolidate the privileges enjoyed by scholars and proved the extent of their united influence in 1200. Sometime between 1210 and 1216 Innocent III authorized the masters to appoint an advocate to represent them in a suit then pending against the Chancellor before the Papacy, which permission was a recognition of one of a corporation's essential characteristics: "to sue and be sued" in court.¹⁵ In 1212 a papal Bull forbade the Chancellor to require the licentiates to take an oath of obedience to him and again commanded him to grant the license to all candidates recommended by the faculties. At the same time he was forbidden to imprison a member of the school.¹⁶

Among the first written statutes of the University of Paris were those drawn up by the Papal Legate, Robert de Courçon, probably with the advice of the leading masters, in 1215. Besides listing qualifications for lectures, studies and discipline, they recognized the right of the masters and students to form sworn societies for protection, securing justice and boycotting, or placing a tax on, the proprietors of Paris.¹⁷

Following another altercation with the Provost of Paris that resulted in the dispersion of 1229, Gregory IX issued his celebrated Bull *Parens Scientiarum* (1231). It granted the University power to make its own statutes and punish their disobedience by expulsion, sanctioned suspension of teaching as a method of "direct action," and limited the judicial authority of both Bishop and Chancellor.¹⁸ Late in the century the latter's jurisdiction, civil, criminal, and spiritual, had disappeared. For a long time he disputed with the faculties the right of determining who should be licensed, but by refusing to accept in their guild any but their own nominations, they finally reduced his position to a merely honorary one.

When, in 1246, the right of the University to use a common seal was conceded by Innocent IV, its status as a corporate body was unqualified. It must be repeated, however, that its *de facto* existence began much earlier. Most authorities agree that the self-constituted guild was probably formed sometime

around 1170. It shared with other institutions in the thirteenth century a definition of its constitution, and its role as papal favorite helped it reach the position of semi-autonomy it held until the late fifteenth century.

The guilds of masters developed first in the faculty of arts where there were really four societies: The French, Norman, Picard and English-German Nations. Each nation of regent-masters (those actually teaching in the University) elected a proctor, and by at least 1245 they were acting as a federation to choose a common head, or Rector, of all the masters of arts. From the first the officers of the nations represented the whole school, whose superior faculties perfected their organizations under the headship of their deans, or senior members, at a later date.

IV

The early history of the *studium generale* at Oxford is not very clear. Because of its central, protected location the town possibly possessed important schools at an early date. It seems likely that the action of Paris in expelling alien scholars in 1167 and a contemporary decree by Henry II forbidding English clerks to go abroad, lest they should give aid to Beckett, caused a rather rapid increase in the number of schools at Oxford. By 1192 a chronicler speaks of the clerks there as "so numerous that the city could hardly feed them." Whether or not the growth of the school was due to one sudden migration from the French university, there is plenty of evidence about the exchange of masters and students between the two institutions, so it is not surprising to find many features of the Paris constitution transferred to Oxford.¹⁹

The English student-body did not have the cosmopolitan character of the Parisian, but it divided into two nations with the River Trent as a boundary line. It is characteristic of English unity in other fields, however, that after a last great faction fight in 1274 the two solemnly signed articles of peace providing that henceforth they would be as one.²⁰

The most distinctive development at Oxford was the office of Chancellor. He derived his authority from the Bishop of Lincoln, but that See was vacant during much of the time from 1167 to 1216, and Lincoln was not close enough for constant oversight at any time. Consequently the masters must have become accustomed to choosing the officer who should grant the license from their own number. Thus he was both their head, to enforce their statutes, and the ecclesiastical representative with clerical judicial powers that were constantly added to by king and Pope during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 294-298; see also, Ernest Lavis, ed., *Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution*, 9 vols., III (Paris, 1911), 335-339.

¹⁵ Hastings Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 300-301.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 308-309.

¹⁷ Ernest Lavis, *Histoire*, III, 339-340.

¹⁸ Hastings Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 334-340.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 1-48.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 55-58.

until even the Bishop's confirmation of the Chancellor was finally dispensed with (1367), and the University exempted from all episcopal control (1395).²¹

Unlike those on the continent, the superior faculties there had very little separate organization. There were no deans. In the Congregation of Regents the regents of all faculties met together to consider matters of finance, regulations for lectures and studies, the election of the Chancellor and the bedels, and the conferring of degrees. The proctors of the nations continued after the amalgamation of 1274 to serve as joint presidents of the masters of arts. They executed statutes, administered oaths, preserved peace and summoned congregations for the whole University, but there was never any question of their rising to the "headship," as at Paris and Bologna, because of the Chancellor's position.²²

Cambridge's story follows a pattern similar to that of Oxford. Migrations from Oxford and Paris (1228) gave it a start, and it soon acquired papal recognition. In 1318 John XXII formally created it a *studium generale*, recognizing a distinction it already held according to custom. The Chancellor was confirmed by the Bishop of Ely until 1401. Its accession of privileges was slower than in the other great

school, and its place in English intellectual life inferior. When Oxford gained a reputation for being radical because of its support of Lollardism, however, parents and patrons turned their favors toward Cambridge, and its ensuing progress was rapid.²³

V

Among the other universities of Europe some developed into *studia generalia* spontaneously and later received papal or imperial (or, as in Spain, royal) confirmation of their rank and corporation; others, notably in eastern Europe, were the definite creation of the Pope or the ruler. The founding of the latter type usually reflected a disagreement between national groups or some special purpose of the founder, such as the Scottish dissatisfaction with English politics and French theology, the rivalry of Rudolph IV of Austria and Emperor Charles IV and the desire of the Pope to combat heresy in the neighborhood of Toulouse or tame the arrogance of Paris. The later ones, especially in Spain and Germany, resulted partly from the ambitious pride of the rulers of the various states. As has already been noted, the constitutions of all the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century universities were an adaptation of Paris or Bologna.²⁴

²¹ *Ibid.*, III, 52-55, 114-128.

²² *Ibid.*, III, 49-78.

²³ *Ibid.*, III, 274-292.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 1-324.

For Whom Is Social Service?

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The social service field is intricate. It is so broad that it is difficult to define but, generally speaking, its aim is the amelioration of conditions and the rendering of assistance to the needy. For this purpose there are various organizations with a great range of activities. They deal not only directly with the families but also with their environment. The sums spent on such work today are enormous. The employees of social service form a veritable army. But for whom does this vast machinery function? Are the impoverished given the foremost consideration by this great network of organizations?

The growth of social service has been rapid in recent years. Even before the depression its scope had increased tremendously. But as yet no program has been drawn up for the work as a whole. This is a vital problem which deserves consideration. The situation must be examined closely if it is to be clarified.

Lack of coordination is one serious handicap. The

various organizations have no strong connecting links; they do not work together. How this impedes progress can best be shown by specific examples.

Very often relief agencies arrange to put children in a day nursery. This allows the mother to seek employment. On the assumption that this should lead to the independence of the family, their allotment is usually stopped as soon as the mother has a job. But actually this does not end the situation. A day nursery has certain rules and regulations. If a child is sick, it must remain at home. Who, then, can look after it while the mother works? If she takes time off, how can she tide the household over financially? Few day nurseries have any funds for such emergencies. Yet after the case has been closed by the relief agency, time and energy are required to reopen it. The child may be back in the day nursery before this can be accomplished. Meanwhile, the mother may have had to incur debts to support her family.

Another instance is that of neglected children,

often sent to orphanages. But even when this is a court commitment the head of the institution may be free to discharge them. This means that if they are nuisances in the orphanage they can be returned to the family. I have known this to happen in New York although the parents had previously been declared unfit guardians.

In still another case an old couple were supported by a relief agency. Although the social worker declared that they were inappropriate clients for her organization, she made no attempt to place them in an old people's home. When, finally, the burden of their care was shifted to the government, they were too feeble to exist on their reduced allotment. As a consequence, the old lady became seriously ill and was forced to go to various hospitals, in each of which she stayed as long as they would keep her. There was no place for her to stay permanently except an old people's home. But to gain admission to one, the intervention of social service was required. Needless to say, the first relief agency had entirely passed out of the picture. The government could not arrange her admission. Therefore, the family had to contact entirely new social service assistance in order to start proceedings. The couple suffered from months of separation which would have been even longer had not some money from a private source become available.

Quite evidently the complicated machinery of social service often works at cross purposes. Pulling as it does in diverse directions, it often defeats its own aim. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that frequently the main issue is obscured by the details. This is what makes it so baffling to measure the value of social work.

In view of the present set-up this is inevitable. For social service limits itself. Not only does it fail to deal with every side of the individual but it confines itself to one section of the population. This lack of unity makes thorough-going measures impossible. Social ills are not restricted to one class. They are much broader and deeper than the economic factor seen on the surface.

For instance, consider the problem of unemployment during the last depression which may face us again after the war. Apparently there are not enough jobs for everybody. There are many explanations for this, such as new labor-saving devices, more wage earners or the alleged business cycle. But the point worth observation is the method of meeting this emergency. To counteract the situation the federal government started work relief on a large scale. This seemed a better solution than handing out a dole to the idle. But what happened? In order to obtain this work relief, the majority of recipients had to be declared paupers. Obviously this put a premium on improvidence. For it meant that persons with

small savings were at a disadvantage. Can the country afford to scorn thrift? Is it quite fair to reward the wasteful first? Besides, does it not raise fresh problems? Many of the investigators in the social service department had no previous training or experience. They were engaged simply because they needed jobs. Is this fair to the families whom they visited? With the same lack of foresight they were placed in settlements and other social service organizations. As a consequence they have filled jobs which rightly belonged to the regular staffs.

Unfortunately, such methods are quite in keeping with the usual policy of social service. Each organization is an independent unit, concerned mainly with its own welfare. The spotlight is turned on its own special interests not on the general problems of social service. This exclusiveness is very evident when it comes to finances. The cost of running an organization frequently overrules all other considerations. In other words, each individual enterprise concentrates on its own budget, not on the financial requirements of the work as a whole. This transfers the emphasis from the needs of the individual to the organization itself.

The same case of the old couple illustrates this quite plainly. In this instance, the husband was admitted to the home gratis. Several months afterwards his wife's entrance was delayed for a stipulated sum. To be sure, she was not actually rejected. But it was clearly intimated that the money would hasten her admission and therefore their reunion. By no means is this an isolated example.

Many children are kept from going to the country because their families cannot afford the weekly stipend. As for sending the youngsters away for a whole summer free, this is almost an impossibility. At least this is true in New York. If the families themselves are unable to pay for their children's vacation, they may go without unless subsidized by another organization or some private person. It is not generally understood that few vacation homes will accept children absolutely free. The plea is that the organization cannot afford to do this. But does this justify the procedure? Either social service should acknowledge that direct personal charity is still necessary, or make their services available to the most needy actually free. As it is now handled, the destitute suffer because they are unable to meet these small payments for services which are generally believed to be rendered to them completely free. The institution naturally gives preference to those able to make the payments and often those in dire need are rejected.

Looking at social service purely from a practical angle, is there not tremendous waste in the system? Is it not inconsistent to preach economy when so frequently social service duplicates its own efforts?

This would be a rare joke on those active in social service did it not lead to so much personal hardship as well as futile expense.

One glaring example is the question of investigation. Obviously the object is to avoid fraud. But why must the process be repeated by each different social service contact? Imagine the humiliation of these poor people asked to tell their story to one stranger after another! Is it a wonder that many of them become actively antagonistic? It is as if no society trusted another but must re-investigate to check up each former investigation. How can such a short sighted policy be followed year after year? Why is it not recognized that this is adding unnecessarily to the organization's burden? Take the task of the case workers in relief agencies. They are constantly complaining that their load is too heavy to carry properly. Still they are not allowed to take the word of such institutions as day nurseries, hospitals, nursing services and so forth, who are constantly referring cases to them. Absurd as it seems, they must pay an initial visit to every home before assistance is given. This is true no matter who refers the case. Obviously could the word of other organizations be accepted, the work would be considerably lightened. Furthermore, there would be less delay and consequently less anxiety for the families.

The lack of foresight in social service is conspicuous. Similarly, ignorance of neighborhood conditions and facilities is a heavy handicap. Very often a settlement covers activities already carried on outside. It sticks to its own developments from habit rather than conviction. This accounts for its continuation in the field of industrial classes which rightly belong to education and to libraries which are usually amply provided. Location should also be mentioned in this connection. By no means are institutions always placed where they can do the most good. Here again the organization is kept in mind not the people whom it is to serve. However, this is scarcely to be wondered at when the personal factors in social service are analyzed.

In control of social service there are Boards which usually consist of laymen. Technically these Boards are the governing body. For some odd reason it is supposed to be an honor to serve as a member. Therefore, many persons serve not from generosity but vanity. Even though their money may pay for untold benefits, the motive of the donor may not be altruistic. Social prestige may be acquired by joining a Board. It may be the first step towards good social contacts. For others it satisfies their desire for power. Cash often buys power in philanthropy. In fact, a string is generally attached to large contributions. The giver wants to control the distribution of his funds. Needless to say, he usually oversteps and insists on having a say concerning the whole budget.

Dangerous as such interference may be, it is impossible to avoid it with the present set-up of social service. The Board members are chosen almost at random. Their fitness to fill the position is seldom considered. Wealth or connection with another Board member count far more than actual ability. There is no prerequisite of training or experience. The honor is not conferred because it has been won but simply for material reasons. Yet once an individual is elected, it is well nigh impossible to oust him, no matter how inefficient he proves. Thus unintelligent and incapable persons can regulate the conduct of organizations dealing with human beings although admittedly this requires both skill and preparation.

To add to the confusion there is no single individual responsible for the whole program. Sometimes a group is appointed, sometimes one Board member, to supervise different phases of the work. There may be an educational committee, a health committee, a house committee and various other groups equally circumscribed, not to mention the regular officers. Everyone wants a title, everyone wishes to be assigned to a particular duty. This gives them a feeling of importance. But as can readily be seen it does little to unify the work of the organization.

It is bad enough to realize that social service is at the mercy of untrained participants. Difficulties are increased tenfold by this split authority. How can there be any coordination when the responsibility is so diffused that nobody feels it? How can the machinery run smoothly under these circumstances? No business would stand up under such an arrangement.

Many Board members are incapable of analyzing their function. They do not realize that their duty is to collect and distribute the funds. This is an entirely separate issue from the management. But Board members fail to distinguish between these functions. As a governing body their responsibility is to choose the head executive who is paid and then leave the details of administration to her. As representatives of the organization to the social service world, they should know their subject. But their authority should end with general supervision and advice when requested. The actual work is up to the employees.

In recent years social service has become a profession. It takes years of preparation which is being handled more and more in definite schools. But there are various difficulties. Judging from the results there is a certain leniency in the selection of students. For not everyone has the character to be useful in social service. Too frequently it is assumed that training creates this predisposition instead of guiding it. Besides, such specialized training tends

to narrow the scope of social service. The qualities needed by the social service worker are not so different from those required by the teacher and the doctor. That is, an understanding of human nature is essential in these professions. It is the technique which must be learned, not the way to approach our fellow beings. This requires a sympathetic nature controlled by the broadest possible education. Social service demands kindness but firmness too.

For this reason social service is more than a job. But many enter the ranks only because it carries more prestige than office work. The term social service worker is more dignified than that of clerk. Besides, the work seems easier and permits more independence. The pay probably is as high if not higher than in other positions. But ought these motives prevail in social service? Can the world afford to dispense with idealism in such a profession? This is not a suggestion that all social service workers should be martyrs but simply a query as to whether one fault is not that too much attention has been paid to training and too little to the selection of the material to be trained.

Certainly the attitude of social service workers is not always above criticism. That they should have a fair deal goes without saying. But when budgets have to be cut, who should be the first to suffer? Should it be the impoverished who are already living at the subsistence level or the employees who have a little more margin? To say that more money should be procured is not an answer. True, those who back social service have more funds. But unfortunately at present nobody can force their generosity. In their own estimation they have other obligations and can stretch their pocket books just so far for philanthropic purposes. Besides their selfish attitude does not justify that of the social workers.

Such actions as strikes or walk-outs of social service workers for higher salaries are objectionable because they harm innocent people. Besides, the strikes are futile gestures. Ordinarily if the employees have been fairly paid before the cut, they can assume that their wages will be restored to the former level when funds are available. Social service is not a business which can be attacked because of its huge profits. The methods of labor do not injure the authorities towards whom they are aimed. On the contrary, it is the poor client waiting for service who suffers. Is this a laudable procedure?

So far in this brief survey of social service the pertinent question is unanswered. For whom is social service intended? Apparently the machinery fails completely to fulfill its purpose at present. The needy instead of being of first consideration, too frequently lose out. Before speaking of a possible remedy I want to summarize the reasons for this.

In the first place, too much attention is paid to

the welfare of the group. Unfortunately, mankind cannot be dealt with wholesale. When this is tried the personal factor is forgotten. Another source of inefficiency is the mixed groups of workers, each with their own interests paramount. By no means are either the unpaid Board members or the salaried staff always motivated by real charity. Perhaps this is impossible in the present set-up. For much of the unfairness of social service comes because it is so dependent on personal whim. This is no foundation for any work devoted to helping human beings. Such a basis is sure to breed harshness because kindness is by no means universal. To think that this quality can be developed through social service training is an impossible dream. It is the very scheme, then, which defeats the purpose of social service.

Unquestionably any remedy must include the benefits of social service. Both private and public enterprises have done immeasurable good in this country. No matter how far the social order advances, such institutions as day nurseries, hospitals, summer camps and recreation centres will continue to exist. Somehow these must be welded together so that the individual does not needlessly suffer.

Perhaps one solution might be a change in emphasis in social service. Instead of a program for a selected group, the poverty stricken, it should insist on certain essentials for everybody. Such a plan would take into account the problems of our whole existence such as decent housing, sufficient food, adequate clothing, education, and the care of health. It would also include provision for the unfit by fostering such methods as enforced institutionalism, sterilization and birth control. All details, of course, would have to be worked out by experts in each particular field.

In a sense, the role of social service is that of a laboratory. Its activities should be the study of how to help the human race. As soon as social service has proved the worth of its experiments, these should be adopted by our regular social system. Take the problem of pre-school education. The day nursery showed the value of habit training for the young. Out of the day nurseries developed the nursery schools. That is, social service was the forerunner in a movement now recognized as beneficial for every child under school age.

In other words, the aim of social service should be to dissolve its own activities into the social structure. This is the very opposite of what it is now doing. Its tendency is to perpetuate itself by joining with some political power. But quite evidently no real progress will have been accomplished so long as social service exists on a large scale. For social service is dependent on social ills although it is just these which it claims to remedy. One great trouble is that social service has isolated itself so

completely. To succeed it must be considered a pioneer movement gradually disappearing as conditions are bettered.

To show what I mean let us turn to the one institution in the United States which is intended for all its children. This is the public school system. It should be utilized more completely than it is today. Instead of talking of democracy we should practice it. By this I mean that every child, rich or poor, should receive a public school education. Then, and then only would all parents be interested in improving the standards of education. Much work now belonging to social service could be dissolved into the public school system. Its curriculum could include such activities as planned recreation clubs and other guidance of youth movements. Under this leadership might be found some way to combat class antagonism. Is it too much to hope that this might bring understanding which ultimately would make for justice? This would be social service in the true sense of the word.

Undeniably social service must work for the peace of the world. This demands a calm attitude, not

one of smoldering hate. But immediate results must not be hoped for. On the contrary, we in social service today strive to better the lot of unborn generations. To visualize the results of these improvements takes imagination. Our influence, intangible as yet, may reach the future grandchildren of our clients. This is the long view which is so necessary for social service. It demands patience and above all that quality vaguely described as vision. The spirit of social service stands for gradual change. This means that it must consistently oppose anything destructive. Force has no place in social service. In conclusion, then, unless social service can be utilized to move humanity forward, it may as well admit its complete failure.

Today social service often neglects those whom it is intended to serve. Is this not inevitable in view of the present system? The problem boils down to a question of absorbing the developments of social service into our social structure in such a way that the individual will no longer suffer unnecessarily in his social service contacts.

Benjamin Franklin and Education

THE NATIONAL FRANKLIN COMMITTEE

Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Benjamin Franklin, himself, had less than two years of formal schooling, yet he helped found two colleges, aided at least half a dozen more, and propounded theories of education, some of which are still in practice, while others had great influence at the time. Because he did not attend school, he was forced, since he was the kind of a boy who profoundly desired learning, to work out his own system of education. This, perhaps, gave him the dual appreciation of the value of education and the value of progress within it.

The theme of all his activities and theories on education is twofold. Everything stressed the idea of self-activity and the idea of the *practical*. The first of these was, of course, no idle theory with him, as in his own self-education, he made it his practice throughout life. From the time his father took him out of the Latin School until the day he died, some seventy years later, he continued to educate himself. Having failed in arithmetic at school, he later mastered it by himself, partly because he needed it to study geometry and navigation. Considering a good English style essential, he taught himself how to write by self-imposed prose exercises with the *Spectator Papers* as his text and teacher. Then he acquired French, Italian, and Spanish. He proceeded

to Latin, which he then found easy; this led him to a theory, firmly held to, that pedagogues were teaching languages in the wrong order. He never ceased carrying on observations, trying experiments, and recording results. A man of his insatiable curiosity about the world was bound to be educated.

Franklin's whole life, likewise, was a testimony to the value he placed on practical things. The question he always asked was "What use will it be?" That was the acid test for educational matters as for everything else.

He felt that the first step was to avoid existing educational institutions which had long out-lived their usefulness. He had a complete contempt for the existing college education of the day. At the age of sixteen he wrote a scornful condemnation of Harvard, criticizing its domination by wealth, its ecclesiasticism, and its devotion to useless ancient languages.

By practical, Franklin did not necessarily mean education only along technical or trade lines. He merely wished education to be a part of life, not an attribute that was completely irrelevant to society. He thought it inconceivably foolish to educate youths for places in life to which they would not be called. Every word of his educational projects,

every agency of self or adult education which he founded, had its origin in this principle of practicality.

It was this that influenced his desire that an *English* School, rather than a *Latin* School, be the cornerstone of his new Academy. This Academy, which later became the University of Pennsylvania, was Franklin's greatest single contribution to institutional education.

Franklin's proposals for the system of education to be followed by the Academy were an innovation in the colonies. At the time, secondary schools were not numerous, and they were very conservative. There was a Latin Grammar School in Massachusetts and there were similar schools at various places in the South. In Pennsylvania, the Quakers had founded, according to their educational policies, the Penn Charter School under the direction of a board of overseers which also promoted elementary schools. The purpose of these Latin Schools was to prepare for colleges—and the colleges were created chiefly to prepare ministers of the gospel. The rising middle class began to criticize sharply this narrow professional purpose. Moreover, class distinctions were encouraged by the preparatory schools and colleges.

There were, in addition to these, the private schools, where some of the utilitarian education neglected by the college preparatory schools was offered, and later, when the Academy was formed, Franklin drafted into its service some of the most famous private schoolmasters in Philadelphia.

The idea that Pennsylvania ought to have a college had been in Franklin's mind for some time, but it was not until 1749 that he started to campaign for it in earnest, by interesting certain of his old friends and by writing and publishing *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*. He said that education in the colony had been neglected and suggested that "some persons of leisure and public spirit" start an academy. He then went on to elaborate his idea of what such an institution should be.

The character of the Academy was to be utilitarian. "As to their studies," said Franklin of the scholars, "it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful and everything that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental, regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended."

The school was also to prepare teachers. As a matter of fact, until normal schools were created, academies became the chief centers for teacher preparation in the United States and frequently organized special classes for this purpose.

Franklin's *Proposals* outlined an institution new both in name and type. It brought practical studies, formerly taught only by irregular teachers, into respectability and under the regulation of a board of trustees. It also emphasized many "modern" ideas, such as the inclusion of athletics in the regular program, together with a little gardening, planting, grafting and such, and drawing, which he saw as "a kind of universal knowledge," understood by all nations. However, his most daring scheme, and the one on which he laid most stress, was the emphasis on English, rather than Latin education. This was Franklin's pet educational child. Later, he returned to the subject in his "Idea of an English School," the most definite formulation of his desire for the institution of vernacular learning.

In this most cherished plan, however, he succeeded only half-way. His publication, *Proposals*, was circulated, a board of trustees formed, the money raised, and the Academy opened in the year 1749. Franklin partly sacrificed his wish for the English school in the interests of expediency. Certain of the richest and the most learned of the benefactors insisted on a Latin school. Thus the plan came to include two distinct courses of education, one under an English master (at a salary of £100), the other under a Latin Rector (at a salary of £200 a year).

The English course was gradually neglected by the trustees and the Latin favored; the abolition of the English school was frequently considered. Franklin, in the last year of his life, wrote his *Observations Relative to the Intentions of the Original Founders of the Academy in Philadelphia*, which reviewed the history of both departments and pointed out that faith had not been kept with the subscribers. It called for "a separation" from the Latinists so that it might be possible to carry out the plan so long deferred.

In 1755, after its incorporation by a charter from the governor two years before, the institution adopted the name of the College, Academy, and Charitable School. Franklin was president until 1756 and had a hand in all its affairs. The funds were increased by contributions in Britain, grants of land from the proprietors of the colony, and grants from the colonial Assembly. Thus was established the present University of Pennsylvania.

The Academy was certainly not the only educational institution to which Franklin gave aid. During his second year as President of Pennsylvania, Franklin promoted a long cherished scheme which culminated finally when he laid the cornerstone of a college for the education of young Germans, at Lancaster. While he was in France, struggling educational institutions in America asked him to obtain aid for them from the French government. He tried

with varying success to assist Dartmouth, Brown, Princeton, and Dickinson. Often, he made his own private and liberal contribution. He gave, for example, £1,000 to the college which bore his name in Pennsylvania.

Not the least important, though perhaps more indirect, contribution of Franklin to education was his establishment of the first permanent subscription library. He always appreciated books, from the days when they were so hard for him to buy or borrow and he needed them so badly. He made many gifts of books—a library of 300 books to the town of Franklin, New Hampshire; others to the University of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, Yale College, and the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews; and he devised a plan for increasing and improving the library of Harvard College, himself contributing a substantial sum to the fund.

Exclusive of the many scientific essays which taught and inspired his fellow scientists and inventors, Franklin's most specifically educational papers may be put into three groups: (1) Those dealing with means of formal school education, i.e., the *Proposals* and the *Idea of an English School*; (2) Those dealing with adult self-education and research in the scientific sense, i.e., the *Proposal* that led to the founding of the American Philosophical Society; (3) Those publications dealing with adult education of the homegrown type, i.e. *Advice to a Young Tradesman* and *The Way to Wealth*.

Franklin favored the education of women. In general, a practical and religious education, plus some accomplishments, seemed to him best. Having been favorably impressed by the ability of the widow of one of his partners in handling the deceased's affairs, Franklin was convinced that a knowledge of accounting was desirable for women. A number of his young women correspondents were encouraged in philosophical tendencies, and some of his best

scientific letters were sent to Polly Stevenson.

As in everything, Franklin's thoughts on education were unfettered by prejudice or outworn traditions. Accordingly, it was he who originated the elective system of college studies and also the "group" system, adopted years later by many leading universities. He was the first writer on education to recommend the teaching of modern languages, such as French and German, as preferable to the exclusive study of Latin and Greek. He appreciated the importance of advanced courses in history, political economy, and government, as well as technical training in agriculture and in the arts and sciences. He it was who prescribed athletics as an adjunct of college education.

These, in summary, are the ways in which Franklin definitely influenced education and what his specific theories about it were. But his indirect influence was incalculable. The sayings of Poor Richard were household words, and who can tell how their lessons of thrift and morality affected their readers? The very character of Poor Richard—and his author—were an example to thousands. Franklin's society, the Junto, was, in his own words, "the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics that then existed in the province." His founding of the American Philosophical Society brought about in time the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Later, his great prestige, added to his other qualities, made him an invaluable leader for the cause of independence. It was a fitting issue on which to end his long life, during which he constantly used his pen to mold opinion and educate the public. After his death, his instruction continued. Not the least can this be seen in the precepts and inspiration of his *Autobiography*, which has been translated into many languages. Franklin's wisdom and nature made him a natural teacher, whether or not he taught within an educational system.

Course Revisions Proposed by the Middle States Council for the Social Studies

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The Middle States Council for the Social Studies is vigorously attacking the three interrelated problems of course revisions in: (1) high school world history, (2) high school American history, and (3) elementary school social studies. This work, thus far exploratory, now is moving toward concrete,

practical results.

The Middle States Council, in October, 1943, issued "preliminary agenda" which posited certain underlying considerations in the light of recent developments and raised pointed questions in each of the three fields, as follows:

HIGH SCHOOL AMERICAN HISTORY AND WORLD HISTORY

A. Underlying Considerations—

1. Will the United States and World History courses remain unchanged, except for addition of a World War II unit, or will all parts of the course be affected?
2. What changing historical perceptions will effect changes in objectives and subject matter?
3. In the light of changing perceptions, what concepts should determine the specific changes to make in course content and aims, on various school levels? e.g., such concepts as international goodwill and the outlawing of war?
4. Can we avoid teaching too little about too much, by reducing the content of the courses to ten or twelve integrated units of fundamental importance? e.g., units such as trade, nationalism, labor, finance, minority groups and natural resources.

B. United States History Revisions—

1. In the light of the underlying considerations, what changes in time allotments for the main historical periods are indicated?
2. And what segments of subject matter should receive less, and what segments more, time? e.g., should less time be given slavery or tariffs or political campaigns or westward expansion; and should more time be given foreign policy or taxation or labor and social welfare or the role of the United States in global affairs?
3. What existing topics or units must be re-interpreted? e.g., do we need to re-interpret American culture, concepts of democracy, inter-American relations or relations with the Far East?
4. What new topics and units must be required? e.g., do we need to add conservation of human resources and consequences of World War II?
5. Can we cut across presidential administrations by the unit method?

C. World History Revisions—

1. Should the course be centered in Europe or in mankind's evolution?
2. Should the organizing principles be found in national histories or in the evolution of human institutions, knowledge, technology, attitudes, etc.? If the second alternative is chosen, how shall national histories be treated?

3. What changes in time allotments of the main historical periods are called for?
4. What segments of subject matter should receive less, and what segments more, time? e.g., should less time be given European national history, medieval war and dynasties, national wars and imperialism and more time to India and the Far East, the rise of the common man, democratic movements and world industrialization?
5. What existing topics or units must be re-interpreted? e.g., do we need to re-interpret the bearing of geography upon historical developments?
6. What new topics and units are now required? e.g., do we need to add the revolution in communications and the recent technological advance?

Elementary School Social Studies

A. Underlying Considerations

1. How should the content for elementary social studies be determined?
2. Are there certain phases of history and geography which are most valuable for "the common man?" How can these be determined? How can it be determined which of them best meet children's interests and capacities?
3. Should the school year be lengthened to provide for the inclusion of more direct experience?

B. Curriculum Content

1. What balance should there be between concern with the local community and issues of broader scope—national and worldwide?
2. What geographic ideas should determine the content of geography materials? How should they be organized for children?
3. What should be the relation between history and geography in the elementary curriculum?
4. What content can be dropped if new material is to be added? Or is new emphasis all that is to be added? Or is better correlation the key?
5. Should there be "planned repetition" from level to level? If so, what difference in materials from one level to the next?
6. How can appropriate materials be secured on local and regional history?
7. Should both American history and the history of civilization be included in

- an already crowded elementary school curriculum?
8. Are there such things as minimum essentials? If so, how can they be adapted to groups of varying abilities?
 9. Should "democracy" be taught from books as well as learned through daily practice?
 10. How can we help children develop a real understanding and love for people of other races and cultures?
 11. How can all the desirable outcomes be evaluated?

C. In-Service Improvement

1. How can in-service teachers be helped to improve their teaching?

The agenda aroused keen interest, outside as well as within the middle states jurisdiction, which embraces New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and the District of Columbia. Approximately 2,500 copies of the agenda were called for, and from locales as far distant as Florence, Alabama and Huntington, Indiana. The propositions were discussed at conferences of numerous local groups during November and December.

Next came the winter convention of the Middle States Council, at Teachers College, Columbia University, December 28, 1943. More than 300 persons braved the hazards of the influenza epidemic and of wartime transportation difficulties to exchange points of view and to air their differences on the agenda. It was a real "work conference." At a brief introductory session basic proposals in the three fields were concisely stated by three prominent leaders in those fields: Erling M. Hunt of Teachers College, D. Montfort Melchior of Girard College and Mary G. Kely of Washington, D.C.

Dr. Hunt faced the fact that insufficient time to teach *well* the full story of world history forces us to teach selected aspects of it. Therefore American history courses at all levels should pay systematic attention to world relationships and a comprehensive, ninth-grade course in world geography should be integrated with a tenth-grade course in world history. The latter should be basically chronological. Down to 1700 or 1800 the central theme should be the development of civilization rather than political dynasties. Thereafter, modern chronology in at least two states, England and France, should be established; and then we should teach the forces distinguishing modern from earlier times, including western expansion, the industrial and scientific revolutions, political democracy, nationalism, imperialism, militarism and internationalism.

The United States history course in the senior high school, Dr. Melchior said, should consist of

what needs to be told in order to understand our nation today and to evaluate democracy as compared with fascism. While colorful incidents are well used for emphasis and to fix values, much revered material could well be given a nostalgic good-by kiss. The colonial period should be the responsibility of the junior high school. History taught on the unit basis as such assumes too much pupil comprehension of continuity. Such things as slavery, the tariff, and the Monroe Doctrine should be taught only as a part of the broad sweep of our national development and not as isolated topics. Greater emphasis could be given to the origin and the authors of the great documents which have formed our nation. Other factors too important to be neglected include our party government, our geography, racial problems and, last but not least, our imperfections.

Elementary social studies work, Miss Kely showed, had been too long divorced from that of the upper school; and as usual in divorce cases the children have been the chief sufferers. Only a long range view of the course of development will make possible the articulation needed to draw out the pupils' skills, abilities, interests and attitudes. Inasmuch as the elementary curriculum is going to develop with or without upper school assistance it definitely devolves upon the specialists in such matters to realize that they have much to learn from, and to give to, the lower schools. Likewise, elementary teachers need to examine the curricula and methods of the upper schools to get the much-needed long view. The formation of an elementary section in the Middle States Council aims to meet this great need of better liaison. Adopting broad tolerance for divergent views, it can act as a clearing forum for comparison of local problems and finding remedies.

After the entire attendance had listened together to the basic proposals in the three fields, the conference split into small, subject groups for full and frank interchange of ideas. Each group was equipped for staying on the track and reaching its terminus. Each held copies of the agenda, indicating the route; each had a staff of discussion leader, summarizers and hosts and hostesses to direct and to record progress of the discussion. The aim throughout was to use as fuel a minimum of "hot air" and a maximum of high octane, common sense. The approximate point on the track reached by nightfall was stated briefly to the entire attendance together, at a tea closing the convention by the three chief assistant engineers, Dr. Hunt, Dr. Melchior and Miss Kely. They reported an interesting if somewhat bumpy journey along the main line of the agenda, with frequent side-trips up spurs of wide disagreement. The way had been prepared for consideration of concrete proposals.

Thus the challenge—to mark out areas of possible common agreement—was bequeathed to the spring convention of the Middle States Council, convening March 24-25, 1944 during Schoolmen's Week at the University of Pennsylvania. Accepting this challenge, three special committees set to work immediately to draw up skeleton drafts of high school courses in world history and American history and to enlist elementary school personnel in a thorough and wide survey of their situation. These committees have based their work on the lessons of hard experience and on the records of the keynote speeches and the many discussions of December 28; also they have studied the findings of the Wesley

committee.

The skeleton drafts of the history courses have been mimeographed. Non-members may secure a copy by sending ten cents to cover costs, to the president of the Middle States Council, Jeannette P. Nichols, 438 Riverview Road, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Teachers are invited to discuss the drafts in local meetings and to send constructive criticisms. Also they are invited to participate in perfecting the drafts by active attendance at the convention of March 24-25 in Philadelphia. The results reached by the time of the close of that work conference will be published in the 1944 *Proceedings* of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies.

Visual and Other Aids

MAURICE P. HUNT

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Shortly after the Spanish-American war, Finley P. Dunne's famous character, Mr. Dooley, said of the Philippines, "'tis not more thin two months since ye larned whether they were islands or canned goods." This sentence neatly summed up the prevailing state of ignorance in the United States concerning other lands and peoples. Perhaps at that time it didn't make much difference whether or not we had heard of the Philippines before.

Everything is different now. We are entering an age when no two locations on the face of the earth will be more than two or three days apart by airplane. Pupils must now be taught the geographic understandings that are befitting the Air Age. Perhaps it is superfluous to say this, in view of the fact that modern teachers are giving such great attention to place geography. My own experience, however, indicates that we still are not doing a satisfactory job. I customarily have classes composed largely of high school seniors, and I find that many of these pupils have but a very nebulous, if not outright erroneous, concept of world geography.

Shortly after the British-American invasion of North Africa, I asked a class of seniors what advantages the capture of North Africa would give to the Allies. One of the replies I received was that "it would enable us to bomb Tokyo." Upon further questioning, I found that the girl who gave this answer believed Japan to be located off the north coast of Africa. After this rather disconcerting experience, I decided to find out just what these seniors did know about global geography. I had the class locate the continents, oceans and some of the more

important rivers, mountain ranges, islands and cities on blank outline maps. Upon grading the papers, I discovered that Africa had become Australia; that the Indian Ocean is between England and Denmark; that the Philippines are in the South Atlantic; that Berlin is in the region of Denver, Colorado; and that Tokyo may be almost anywhere, even in Quebec.

Even those pupils who could do a pretty good job of locating places on a map still had little conception of the world as a globe. Most of them believed the shortest air distance to Japan would be due West from the United States and that Detroit is at least eight hundred miles farther from Berlin than is New York City.

It may be that we teachers are not making enough use, or the right kind of use, of such visual aids as globes and maps. It seems to me that it might be a good idea not to let a child use a flat map during the first two or three years that he studies geography in the elementary grades. If all his study is done from a globe, he will from the very start be thinking of the earth as a globe. He will come to understand the relative nature of the concepts of direction, and he will understand the true relationships between air travel and other forms of transportation. The globe he uses should be a free sphere which can be picked up and handled, rather than one attached to a spindle, because in the latter case the child may begin thinking of the world as a big ball mounted on a stick.

As soon as the child has formed the habit of "global thinking" the teacher will want to make liberal use of maps. The use of maps should be

introduced by a thorough explanation of why the curved surface of the earth can not be projected on a flat piece of paper without distortion. I have had pupils insist that Greenland is larger than South America, and produce a Mercator projection to prove it.

There is little point here in saying much about the relative merits of the various map projections. This is a subject that social studies teachers are already familiar with. However, teachers who have not already done so should familiarize themselves with the Polar Equidistant and Azimuthal Equidistant projections. These maps are going to be of great usefulness in the future. These projections are remarkably accurate from the North Pole to within 20° of the Equator. This is the part of the world which contains the major world powers, the major fighting fronts (except the South Pacific) and the most important supply lines. On no other maps can airline distances between the world's most important cities be so well depicted.

Many teachers will find it desirable to secure maps imprinted on lantern slides for projection on a screen. Such slides can be secured from various supply houses, including the Long FilmSlide Service, 944 Regal Road, Berkeley, California, and the Society For Visual Education, Inc., 100 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois.

NEWS NOTES

Teachers should write to the Extension Division, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, for their

catalogue of war films. It has a very large selection of films relating directly or indirectly to the war effort which are available for a nominal rental fee, or, in the case of government films, for a rental charge of fifty cents.

The YMCA Motion Picture Bureau, Room 1019 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois, has a large number of free or low-cost films for distribution to schools. Write for a descriptive folder.

The Society for Visual Education, mentioned elsewhere in this article, is offering each month slide-films of *Coronet Magazine's* most interesting and timely Picture Stories. All are related to the activities, problems, or personalities of the war and should be useful in social studies classes. The September release was "Through the Periscope," a story of the submarine in modern warfare. The October release was "China Fights Back," by Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The November subject was the story of the United States Navy, in natural color. The entire series of eight slidefilms may be purchased for \$2.00.

Teachers should write to the Office of War Information, Bureau of Motion Pictures, Washington, D.C., for "A List of U. S. War Information Films." This pamphlet lists films furnished by the Office of Education, the Office of War Information, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the U. S. Navy, Coast Guard, Marines and Army, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and the Federal Security Agency. It tells where and how these films may be obtained.

News and Comment

MORRIS WOLF

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SIZING UP OUR FUTURE

As people conclude that they have climbed over the hump in this war, they look ahead to appraise the difficulties of war's aftermath. In the last issues for November, *The New Republic* (November 29) and *The Nation* (November 27) carried 32-page supplements studying such problems.

The supplement on "America and the Postwar World," by three editors of *The New Republic*, was quite inclusive in scope. It scanned our nation's foreign policies for the postwar period, assayed the public opinion of important American groups with regard to those policies, and suggested what improvements in our political machinery and techniques are required by the world conditions confronting us.

This supplement is particularly important for

teachers of the social studies. Its authors—Bruce Bliven, George Soule, and Max Lerner—are keen analysts whose observations are those of men long experienced in weighing public questions.

The Nation's supplement on "Jobs for All" is a more restricted study of ways for providing "Full Employment After the War." Its author, Thomas R. Amlie, is a liberal thinker who has served several terms in Congress. He is by no means optimistic, for the obstacles he finds blocking the way to solving our problems are great and our socio-economic lag is likely to prevent satisfactory progress.

The editors of *The New Republic* gave most of their thought to questions of world organization for peace and for politico-economic reorganization to insure full employment in this technological age.

The economic question was analyzed in greater detail by Mr. Amlie. A study of a European aspect of it was made in *Harper's Magazine* for December by Hiram Motherwell who has been a close observer of the European scene. In "The Three R's of Post-war Europe" he described the innumerable headaches which will afflict the representatives of the United Nations who will undertake to grapple with European reconstruction.

The question of world organization for peace is discussed at length by William Hard in the leading article of *The Reader's Digest* for December ("American Internationalism"). He fears treaties, commitments, an international police force, and the dominance of a few great nations, even though they are democratic. He recommends continuous and uninterrupted collaboration among all nations, with no compulsion. He sees in the Pan American Union an example of the kind of set-up that can lead the world to peace. In the League's International Labor Office he sees a kind of organization which is a model not only for economic but for political and other kinds of collaboration.

Mr. Hard's distrust of treaties whose inescapable commitments so often are simply disregarded when times change is confirmed repeatedly by history. The distinguished thinker, Bertrand Russell, suggests that there be created an international treaty-making body which, as a part of our postwar international machinery, should be empowered to make and revise treaties, as needed, in the name of the member nations of the super-national order. Thus, such problems as treaty obsolescence which Mr. Hard discussed could be effectively and ethically handled. Bertrand Russell's remarks were made in the course of a general analysis of "Citizenship in a Great State," in *Fortune* for December. The historical and psychological fetters of world citizenship come under his scrutiny and he marks out what seems to him to be the way to advance toward such citizenship in view of the historical backgrounds of nations and their peoples.

The extent of the thinking that is being given to such post-war problems is encouraging. It suggests that the answers will be found, providing patience is great, emotion held in check, the common welfare is made the goal, and the masses of people are fully and continuously informed and educated about them by those who lead.

STOCK-TAKING IN EDUCATION

It is altogether appropriate that the experiences of these days prompt educators to take stock of their deeds, their purposes, and their methods. Every month, in this journal or that, they give expression to their rethinking in education. Repeatedly, in this department, attention has been drawn to such ex-

pressions. A deeply probing analysis of the function of education in a democracy appeared in *The Educational Forum* for November. There, Boyd H. Bode explained simply but with his usual brilliance what "Education as Growth" means in a democracy as compared with a totalitarian state.

We agree that real peace will require a different type of education in enemy countries. The purpose of the education they have given to their people, we see, is hostile to peace. But do we see with equal clarity the purpose of the education we give? The purpose of education in a democracy is not clearly marked because it is derived from the individual, and each individual is unique. The authoritarian educational system simply imposes a ready-made set of educational blueprints upon the individual and makes him over according to the specifications. A democracy seeks to derive its blueprints from the materials, the individuals, to be educated. The complexity of the problem is reflected in our watchwords of democracy: "concern for the individual, respect for personality, faith in the common man, equality of opportunity."

Dr. Bode suggests that if the individual is taken as the point of reference for educational planning then the significant thing about him is his growth, the development of his capacities. To be sure all living things grow, naturally, "with or without benefit of pedagogy." But in a democracy, educators are made responsible for some kind of growth. It is not the kind for which the authoritarians assume responsibility.

Dr. Bode reminds us that an individual is such because he is part and parcel of organized society. Entirely alone, he is but a creature. In our democratic society our creed is the "common concern to provide maximum opportunity for individual growth or the development of individual capacity." Growth thus becomes a moral principle. The schools must promote a democratic outlook on life which itself implies social improvement and requires certain kinds of social conduct. The concept of growth has a social, no less than an individualized, context.

It is a mistake to interpret this as a principle for imposing a pre-selected way of life upon individuals. Democratic education is not neutral, of course. What education is? But the democratic frame of reference is the individual himself. His "full intellectual and moral and esthetic stature" as a member of the social order supplies the goal. He is free to criticize and appraise, a freedom not accorded him in an authoritarian order:

... if a person accepts the principle of democracy as his standard for conduct, he provides himself with the best possible assurance for well-balanced development. He becomes interested, for example, in schools and libraries

and playgrounds and movies and civic affairs and foreign policy and other matters, not because these affect him personally, but because he is committed to the principle that social changes must be in the direction of greater opportunity for individual development. His immediate everyday activities and affairs acquire a context and meaning from this social ideal which keep him alive at every point. Once again the cleavage between the individual and society is overcome. . . .

THE MIRAGE OF POSTWAR MIGRATION

Despite the urgencies of war, considerable attention is being given to plans for removing Jews and other people from Europe in the hope that such migration will do much to solve the political, social, and economic problems of that continent. But there is little hope in such migration, says C. Hartley Grattan. Mr. Grattan, a widely traveled, intelligent observer, comes to this conclusion in his analysis of "Postwar Migration: A Mirage," in *Harper's Magazine* for December.

Although some contemplate the removal of twenty million people from Europe, principally from the southeastern areas, they would relieve pressure only slightly since that number is merely 5 per cent of the total population.

Mr. Grattan calls attention to the fact that such mass migration would create at least two great problems whose solution is far from evident. Proponents of migration contemplate removal of peoples to the little occupied areas of the earth such as Australia or Africa or South America. One important reason for the relative emptiness of such regions is their undesirability for human habitation. Rainfall or its lack, pooriness of soil, prolonged cold, and other factors make life in them impossible for large numbers of people. Mr. Grattan, long familiar with Australia, suggests that the population of that vast continent will not exceed ten millions because of the climate, soil, and poor water resources of the still uninhabited areas. Even the pioneer settlements formerly made in the hinterland are being abandoned in the face of the hostile geographical conditions. The wide open spaces of the earth—in jungle, desert, subarctic, and elsewhere—are wide open because they cannot support large populations.

Even if they could, the prosperity of the people would depend upon the availability of markets beyond their own boundaries. The successful settlements of our own West, of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other areas were dependent upon markets in Europe, eastern United States, and other regions. Those who migrated to these places did not find prosperity by marketing their products among themselves. They found it in the demand for their goods

among peoples elsewhere. Argentine beef, Australian sheep, Canadian wheat, and American cotton and pork supplied world markets. Will the productive areas now in use in the nations, under modern technological conditions, need to be supplemented by products from regions hitherto unsettled?

Before Europe's millions can be transplanted to the sparsely occupied regions, we must be sure that hostile geography will not defeat the settlements from the start and that markets will be available for the products which these areas will add to the world's goods. Mr. Grattan argues that, if such migration is necessary, it may be wiser to direct it to regions already settled and therefore of proved economic worth. He suggests that Europe is capable of taking care of her own people if the high impassable national barriers to migrations are knocked down so that, for example, an impoverished Hungarian farmer could move into a German factory town as readily as a Vermont farmer or Georgia sharecropper can go to Pittsburgh or Chicago. The problem of large-scale migration is much more difficult than is at first suspected, because of the problems it creates.

An interesting supplement to this account is Mark Starr's statement of the way "Labor Looks at Migration," in the December issue of *Current History*. Mr. Starr is a prominent labor leader and the educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. He quotes the fears of the major unions that unless we maintain bars to immigration we shall face a rising tide from the Old World areas which have suffered so much in the present war. Such fears, he believes, are exaggerated. Our bars are not going to be taken down.

The International Labor Office has been studying the labor needs of various regions of the earth in relation to migration. A United Nations Employment Service, suggests Mr. Starr, is a desirable agency for regulating the flow of immigrants to regions which need their labor. "The cooperation between the labor unions, the employers and the government in the International Labor Office could tackle this new problem of world migration successfully."

UNION THEN AND UNION NOW

Katharine Ryder, in "Thirteen Show the Way," gives a powerful argument for Clarence Streit's *Union Now*, in the December issue of *Current History*. Young students of history will be interested in her story of the difficulties which faced the union of our thirteen original states in 1787. Disunity was then much easier to expect than unity, and yet union proved successful. The secret lay in the substitution of a union of peoples for a league of sovereign nations. This, she says, is the central principle of Streit's proposal.

Her analogies and descriptions will do much to help young students understand the problem of 1787 and of the present. They will help supply principles for judging various plans offered to citizens for meeting the international political problem of the postwar period.

POSTWAR EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

The Right Honorable Richard Austin Butler, Member of Parliament and President of Britain's Board of Education, sketched the major features of a plan for expanding education in Great Britain after the war, in the November 27 issue of *School and Society*. In his brief article on "Widening the World's Horizons," he comments upon the proposals of Britain's Board of Education which he has already presented to Parliament.

In some ways the British-proposed program parallels plans being considered in this country, and in some ways it reveals an effort to catch up to us. Such proposals as that of raising the school-leaving age to sixteen, increasing vocational education, providing universal school-medical inspection, and prolonging universal secondary school education reveal the lag between the two countries. Like us, Britain is being asked to have the government underwrite education for demobilized veterans and to extend the work-school program on the secondary school level.

The program, as planned and if approved by Parliament, will require at least seven years to get fully under way. Its scope is indicated by the fact that it will require an increase of the teaching staff by about one-third. Three types of secondary schools are provided: the Grammar or academic school, the Technical or vocational school, and the Modern school which is intermediate, stressing practical as well as artistic and citizenship education.

The Public Schools will be continued primarily as training schools for leaders. In order to make such training as well as higher education available to the capable but financially poor, it is proposed greatly to increase government aids. All in all, the proposals would double the education-tax bill of Great Britain.

For further descriptions of British educational plans see the two articles on "Whither Schools in Britain?" which appeared in the October number of *Frontiers of Democracy*. In them H. C. Dent, educational editor of *The London Times*, and Major F. L. Redefer, formerly director of the Progressive Education Association, discuss the proposed plans for reconstructing the British educational system.

THE EIGHT YEAR STUDY

The last of the five-volume account of the Eight Year Study (*Adventure in American Education*) has appeared. Eunice Fuller Barnard, associate editor of *Progressive Education*, writes in the December num-

ber that the study proves that high school graduates can succeed in college without pursuing a college preparatory course on the secondary level ("They Made Good in College . . ."). She quotes from the report of the committee of college presidents and deans who appraised the entire project: "It looks as if the stimulus and the initiative which the less conventional approach to secondary school education affords sends on to college better human material than we have obtained in the past."

The article notes briefly the circumstances of the experiment, the secondary schools and the colleges which took part in it, the students in the experimental and the control groups, and the nature of their secondary school preparation. The successful college record of the experimental school does suggest that a college career need not be jeopardized by the student's failure to pursue traditional courses in subject-matter fields on the secondary level. As the committee of college presidents and deans states, "the students from the schools whose pattern of program differed most from the conventional were very distinctly superior to those from the more conventional type of school."

SKILLS FOR OUR DAY

This title for the December number of *Educational Leadership* covers a series of articles on skills which children should acquire in schools: skills for self-discipline, social living, expressive living, and other skills essential to our civilization.

Richard H. McFeely sets the stage in the leading article, "Today's Christmas." Peace and good will have not been destroyed by this war. It is within our power to use victory to achieve peace based on the good will of mankind. Faith can make the fact real. The school can play an important part in making that faith firm by promoting a moral and spiritual renaissance. Some of the necessary factors in such a renaissance are briefly listed by Mr. McFeely.

FRONTIERS OF DEMOCRACY

With the October issue, *Frontiers of Democracy* began its tenth year. Harold Rugg, one of the founders of the journal, succeeded William Heard Kilpatrick as editor. The opening issues maintain the journal's tradition of frontier thinking in education. Its articles, informing and enlightening, are not given to straddling controversial questions for fear readers may be alienated.

The editorial staff is contributing a special paper in each number, on a topic of vital concern. In October, the first paper discussed at length "The Struggle for Power." A very large number of books and articles were studied and from them was distilled this conspectus of the world scene as Americans see it. In the November and December numbers, in

the same way, the second special paper presented a thoroughgoing survey and appraisal of "The New Deal: The Record of 10 Years, 1933-1943."

In October, the journal carried five articles on the subject of "Education and the Price of Peace." Repeatedly mention has been made here of the opinion of distinguished educational leaders who hold that education must have a foremost place in the reconstruction of the postwar world, if sound and sane reconstruction is to be made and permanent peace assured. These five articles are a worthy addition to the growing literature on the subject.

PRE-INDUCTION TRAINING IN SOCIAL STUDIES

The December issue of *Teachers College Record* presents accounts of pre-induction programs in representative schools throughout the country. Thousands of our schools are now providing types of preparation for the military service which our youth face. The task came upon the school so suddenly that there has been little opportunity to collate experiences. This issue of the *Record* gives such an overall view of what is going on in all major lines of secondary school work.

The article on "Pre-Induction Training in the Social Studies" relates what the Cleveland schools are doing in this field. Allen Y. King, who tells the story, is director of the social studies for the city's schools. The social studies program is developed as "Orientation to Military Service." It includes courses and units which aim to meet the needs named by military leaders, without losing the permanent values in social studies teaching which belong as much to this generation of youth as any. The story of what Cleveland is doing is of interest to all teachers.

Lieutenant Commander E. C. Cline, educational planning officer of the Service School, U. S. Naval Training Station, Great Lakes (Illinois), proposed a pre-induction program for secondary schools which should be noted in connection with the above. In "Education for Military and Civilian Competence" (*The School Review* for December) he described a curriculum to prepare youth for possible military service without lessening the drive for permanent peace or sacrificing the traditional values of the broader educational program. The discussion suggested the role of the social studies as well as the other major subject matter fields.

SOCIAL STUDIES CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

At its meeting on December 4, the Social Studies Club of Philadelphia considered "Proposed Future Curriculum Revisions in the Social Studies." Dr. A. Oswald Michener, of the Department of Superintendence, emphasized the function of teachers of the social studies to adjust and guide pupils for living in a world that will be radically different. "The social studies will give all students a sense of the value of democracy and a vision of life that will make people see what is the greatest good of man." As an indication of the interest in adjusting the curriculum to the needs of the world of tomorrow Dr. Michener cited the project of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies which is now studying revisions in American and world history courses. It was resolved by the meeting to assemble in January and discuss reports from the Philadelphia representatives at the Christmas conference of the Council, at Columbia University.

The Honorable Frank W. Ruth, a senator of Pennsylvania described the recent law requiring that Pennsylvania history and government be taught in all secondary schools. Its purpose, he declared, is to instill patriotism and pride in the citizens of the United States. "Patriotism comes from knowledge." Teachers voiced the fear that stress upon local history might cause a further falling away from election of the world history course, at a time when the global orientation of our youth is so important.

LONG ISLAND SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

Under the presidency of Flora A. Gunnerson of the Hempstead High School, the Long Island Social Studies Teachers Association has been able to hold professional meetings, despite transportation difficulties. Two meetings were held in the fall. At Hempstead, in October, Dr. and Mrs. Charles H. Stoll of the American Museum of Natural History Alaskan Expedition described conditions in that Pacific outpost of our armed forces.

In Westbury, a month later, the new social studies program of New York State was discussed, under the leadership of Mildred F. McChestney, State Supervisor of Social Studies. The new six-year sequence for grades 7-12 will be in use throughout the state, probably, by 1945.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by RICHARD H. McFEELY

The George School, George School, Pennsylvania

The Freedom to Be Free. By James Marshall. New York: John Day Company, 1943. Pp. 277. \$2.50.

Louis Fischer is responsible for the story that credits Gandhi with having asked when he first heard of the Four Freedoms: "Do these include the freedom to be free?" It is this phrase which Mr. Marshall has taken for the title of his book in which he pleads that the freedom to be free rests upon an adequate understanding and control of the forces which make up human behavior. Our failure in this respect in the past and the responsibility for the task in the future, he lays squarely upon the shoulders of the schools and particularly upon those who are concerned with the social sciences. That is why his book should be of special interest to teachers of the social studies.

In his analysis of the causes of conflict in the present world society, Mr. Marshall uses a fresh, original and penetrating approach. In his suggested program as to the means by which education shall go about removing these causes there is little that is new and, what is worse, little that seems to meet squarely the difficulties presented in the first part of his volume.

The point of view to which the author holds throughout his critique of world conditions today is that of the sociologist. He assumes that society is in the throes of a revolution—a revolution against paternalism—brought about by the recognition on the part of the common man of his own maturity. He compares the mental attitude of nations to that of individuals in the process of growing up. There is the same basic desire for security, for recognition, for power, for equality at the root of national life as exists at the root of individual life—these constitute the source of the trouble. It is pointed out that in the ideal family life the struggle for individual rights and power is submerged in the desire of the individual to work for the best interests of the whole. The same must become true of the group life of nations. With exceptional clarity he shows the result of our ordinary confusion of equivalence with identity.

We assume that equality means the right to the same capacities, talents and rewards as others. The distinguishing mark of the mature person, according to Mr. Marshall, is his acceptance of the fact of the differing capacities and interests of individuals and the willingness to develop those to the point at which they can be of most value to society. It is this approach rather than the struggle to be the same as

everyone else which he sees as one of the safeguards for the democratic concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity.

In the second section of his book, the author proceeds to discuss in greater detail some of the evidences of this revolt against paternalism as it is seen in government, in industry and in international relations. In one excellent chapter entitled, "Doctor, Mammoth and Cooperative Society," he tackles the problem of the administrator or bureaucrat or manager who, because of the complexities of modern society has come to take over some of the functions of the popularly elected agents of the people. Mr. Marshall would not do away with the so-frequently-jibed-at expert in Washington. He would, however, insist that his actions be held up to the scrutiny of the electorate and that the right of the people to pass upon the validity of his actions be upheld.

In line with this, Mr. Marshall welcomes signs of the development of new forms of popular control in industry where, he believes, democracy must be made to work if it is to work in society at large. The labor union and the cooperative are two means through which the will of the people may be expressed in large-scale industry and, as such, should be given every encouragement possible. He sees great danger in the Marxian philosophy that "the inequalities of the world can be removed by the triumph of the proletariat in a class struggle which must end in public ownership (and of course management) of the means of production. The end result of state capitalism through its concentration of power in the experts of administration is a barrier to equality and to the recognition of the dignity of the individual. It entrenches the administrators as oligarchs because it gives them control, not only of the sovereign weapon of physical force, but also of economic power and inevitably also of propaganda."

The motivating force behind the struggle of Germany and Japan for world power has been, according to Mr. Marshall, their feeling of inferiority, their desire for self-sufficiency, and for recognition among the world of nations. He feels that for both countries, democratization must begin in family life. He believes that both have suffered from the lack of successful popular revolutions which would have proved an effective catharsis for undemocratic tendencies. He insists that our post-war policy must avoid the crushing paternalism which can only result in in-

creasing rather than in alleviating the feelings of inferiority and of revenge which have so long obsessed both nations. Likewise in connection with post-war plans, he presents the problem of the small nation no longer useful as a buffer state nor as a military ally and suggests the necessity of a federation to which all groups shall surrender some of their national sovereignty and from which they shall receive protection. This protection should be afforded by a neutral police force directed by nations who are neutral in their attitude toward one another.

The author introduces the last section of his book by asking the question: "What kind of education will free men from paternalism and make possible the acceptance of fraternity?" This is the point for which the teacher and the school administrator have been eagerly waiting in the hope of discovering what their contribution can be to the solution of problems so ably presented in the foregoing two hundred pages. But there is little here to take hold of. The author takes some well-deserved jibes at the strictly classical education and points to the need of vocational education which shall teach children skills and enable them to take their places in an industrial society. With all this we heartily agree. He then proceeds to urge that education be concerned with "the physical, the emotional, the social and the intellectual personality." He suggests that this be done through giving the child an understanding of the methods of human communication and thought as well as of the content of these in past centuries. He would have mathematics be taught not as a series of numerical abstractions but as expressing the physical relation of things. He believes that symbols must become tools of the thought process. The child should have the experience of creating things and doing it without thought of reward and punishment and in the classroom he should lose his fear of authority as vested in the person of the teacher. Again, we agree and venture to suggest that this is what we have been doing for some time and that the struggle for power, for recognition and all the rest of it still goes on within the gates of our own country.

The problem Mr. Marshall has posed truly and ably. But in giving us an answer he has left us dangling exactly where we were before. The schools must certainly take upon themselves the task of building a world where new motives take the place of the old but in order to do so they will have to have a program more drastic, more inclusive, and more related to the actual problems it is attacking than the one Mr. Marshall has outlined for us in his book.

KATHERINE SMEDLEY

George School, Pennsylvania

Population Problems: A Cultural Interpretation. By Paul H. Landis. New York: American Book Company, 1943. Pp. xii, 500. \$3.75.

Part One of this sociological text considers the numbers of people in the world, gives attention to the probable future growth of mankind, and summarizes population theories. Part Two provides an exhaustive analysis of the effects of multitudinous dynamic cultural factors on biosocial behavior. In Part Three the sex, age, and ethnic composition of the population of the United States is summarized, and special emphasis is given to the changing significance of these factors as they affect fertility and social roles in a dynamic society. Part Four is devoted to the distribution of the population of the United States in accordance with functional roles, rural-urban habitats, and geographical regions. In Part Five, the extent, the selective processes, and the significance of the internal and international migrations of peoples are considered. The concluding chapter outlines a population policy for the United States.

This book eschews the traditional discussions of historical speculations concerning population and so-called population laws and pioneers in emphasizing the social origin and meaning of the facts it presents. The best available data, gleaned from numerous specialized monographs, have been utilized. The result is a brief, lucid, and balanced survey of the nation's population in a world setting. It will prove to be a valuable book of reference for social scientists generally as well as a forward-looking text for sociologists.

EVERETT E. EDWARDS

United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

A Short History of Civilization. By Henry S. Lucas. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943. Pp. viii, 994. \$4.50.

Dr. Lucas, professor at the University of Washington, has written an attractive, well-integrated volume for use either in introductory college courses or advanced high school courses in world history. He has achieved his aim as stated in the preface, to maintain the point of view of the historian of culture, and to subordinate political, social and economic phenomena to general cultural development. Since the author is first of all a recognized historian and secondly a historian of culture, he successfully avoids the glaring faults of most previous compilers of such books, who as historians tacked on a few un-related chapters on "culture," or as culturists dealt in a cavalier fashion with historical reality.

The author is thoroughly familiar with recent findings in anthropology, the natural sciences, and

history. His ready use of pertinent source material makes the book not only authoritative, but one of the best possible introductions for young students into the vastnesses of primary historical material. This alone is enough to commend it.

The chapters on Eastern civilizations are on a par with the rest of the book. They show the influence of the East upon the West as well as European effect upon the East.

The volume reveals a fine balance of judgment, and makes clear how cultural values grew out of historical situations or were acted upon by historical forces. Yet it wisely does not try to explain everything. It inspires the intellectual humility which a scholar should feel when aware of the vast interaction of historical and cultural forces.

One half of the book deals with ancient and medieval cultures, never forgetting to make clear their legacies to the present. Thus the student arrives at modern times with a sure sense of historical foundations under our present life.

The illustrations are numerous and well chosen. The print is clear and easily read. In fact, clarity is a keynote of the book, for the author has the rare ability to point out the principles and the ideas of history, and to subordinate historical facts to sound generalizations.

This reviewer at least has found the volume eminently teachable and generally liked by college freshmen.

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

Hofstra College
Hempstead, Long Island

American Negro Slave Revolts. By Herbert Aptheker. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. 409. \$4.50.

This carefully written and well-documented account is an important addition to American historiography. Historians of the pre-Civil war period have never agreed on the question of the attitude of the Negro toward his bondage. Some have maintained that there was much restlessness and great dissatisfaction among the slaves. Others have insisted that the Negro was docile and content with his lot.

In this study the author emphasizes the well known fact that there was a constant and widespread fear of slave revolts in the South. He also points out what is not so well known, that there were approximately two hundred and fifty revolts and conspiracies in the history of American Negro slavery. In some of these the Negroes were assisted by the poorer whites.

Economic depressions in the South, a dangerous disproportionate population growth with Negroes outstripping the whites, and, in some cases urbaniza-

tion and industrialization were influences leading to John C. Fremont in 1856.

One of the great problems of the slaveholding section was the preservation of the social status quo. There were two schools of thought as to the best way for maintaining this status quo. One favored reforms and greater elasticity in the slave system; the other group urged a policy of suppression. It is needless to say that the point of view of the second group prevailed. As a result it was necessary to establish an arbitrary system of social control. In addition, the myth of racial inferiority was fostered, industrialization was discouraged, and some of the basic principles of religion and democracy were repudiated. The desire for freedom, however, was never crushed and the author concludes that "discontent and rebelliousness were not only exceedingly common, but indeed characteristic of American Negro slaves."

The teacher will find this book useful not only because of its contribution to pre-Civil war history, but also because of the background which it presents for one of our real modern problems.

WALTER H. MOHR

George School, Pennsylvania

Economic Geography of Anglo-America. By C. Landon White and Edwin J. Foscue. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1943. Pp. xxii, 898. Illustrations, \$4.75.

This text is written for use in colleges and universities and is a distinct contribution to an understanding of English-speaking America. The title of the book limits the discussion to the area north of the Rio Grande; in this respect it is different from previous texts, because they included the Central American countries. This publication concludes years of work by the authors, and they have contributed a volume which is up-to-date to the extent of considering the normal peace problems and the contributions each area is making to the execution of the present Global War.

The text is divided into a preface, twenty-four chapters, and an index. The first three chapters are: the Physical Background, the Occupance and Land Utilization, and Regional Geography and the Geographic Regions of Anglo-America. Chapter three is an attempt to clarify the philosophy which underlies the next twenty chapters. In it the authors attempt to clarify the meaning of words and phrases which will be used throughout the text. They consider the problem of delimiting regions and the reason for studying them, their plan of study, the permanency or ephemerality of regions, ecological succession, the goal of geography, and regional planning. This third chapter is a fine contribution;

it should eliminate much discussion as to why the boundaries are placed where they are. The literature greater discontent. Other factors were the spread of our own and the French revolutionary philosophies, Negro uprisings in the nearby West Indies, and even such events as the campaign for the election of cited should prove to any reader that regions are not held within hard and fast permanent lines by any group that attempts to delimit any distribution by a demarcation line.

Anglo-America is divided into twenty regions, and each has a well-written chapter which considers the delimitation of it, the physical (surface features, climate, soils, mineral resources, original vegetation, water power, etc.) and cultural (agriculture, cities, transportations, resorts, etc.), present problems (soil erosion, floods, tenancy, etc.), and oftentimes a further division of a region into sub-regions. Many of the sub-regions were independent regions in previous North America texts. Reducing the number should make the text easier to teach. The American Manufacturing Belt overlaps a portion of several regions; this is the only area which has this characteristic. Some will complain that a few of the regions cover too large an area or are too general in delimitation, but the authors have prepared a text for the average geography student. On page 39 they state that "... the majority of students studying the regional geography of Anglo-America have as background only a general course in the principles of geography." This text certainly meets their need.

The last chapter is a discussion of Anglo-American unity. Here the authors point out that we have similar natural environment with Canada, similar economics, standard of living, cultural background, human migration, investments, trade, transportation, boundary problems settled by treaty, and common defense problems. The last topic is one we hear discussed often: Will the United States absorb Canada? This chapter is really one of United States-Canada economic and foreign relations.

The physical part of each chapter is discussed in much the same way; many will not like this, but the reviewer can see no way that this can be avoided. The authors chose not to make a detailed study in earlier chapters on physical elements; the study is much clearer by studying the physical elements in each chapter than by assuming that the student remembers the physiography, climate, etc., from more detailed chapters that discussed them earlier.

The text is clearly written. At the beginning of each regional chapter is found a well-drawn locational map showing the major cities within the area under discussion. This locational map makes study easier, especially when no more detailed map is provided. The photographs are well chosen; many are

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aerial photos. When discussing regions which extend over international boundaries the authors forget the political separation and proceed just as though they were not present; later the national considerations are discussed for each.

LEROY O. MYERS

Pennsylvania State College
State College, Pennsylvania

PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

Mainsprings of World Politics. By Brooks Emeny.
Social Action for October 15, 1943. Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y. Illustrated with maps and charts. Pp. 86. 25 cents.

Four interrelated factors—the geographic, economic, demographic, and strategic—work together to determine the nature and drift of world politics. Each of these Dr. Emeny, the distinguished expert on international affairs, describes in non-technical language. Writing for the general citizen, he avoids the necessary complications required for expert accuracy and is content to present a simplified overview. An exposition of the underlying geographic base of human relations prefaces the discussion. Dr. Emeny concludes his account of the world factors or mainsprings by examining how they bear upon

our thinking about the position of the United States in the postwar world. The entire account ends with an elementary and illuminating description of "How World Maps Are Made."

Also published as No. 43 of the Headline Series, Foreign Policy Association, New York.

Speaking of India. By Miriam S. Farley. New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943. Pp. 63. 25 cents.

Institute of Pacific Relations pamphlet No. 9, written in a question and answer form in such a way that answers can be located immediately.

The Health of Children in Occupied Europe. By International Labour Office. Montreal, 1943. Pp. 37. 25 cents.

A careful outline of a study of the effects of the war on the health of the children. It is a valuable contribution to the preparation of any methodical international program of child protection.

Public Thinking on Post-War Problems. By the National Planning Association. Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1943. Pp. 36. 25 cents.

This is Planning Pamphlet No. 23, and discusses public opinion as it relates to such problems as: full employment planning, reconversion, demobilization, aid to soldiers, post-war purchasing power, social security, and post-war economic controls.

After the War—What? By Peter Slosson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943. Pp. vi, 86. 56 cents.

An effort to state in an orderly fashion the economic, social and political problems which peace will bring and the questions which must be settled, if peace is to be anything but another armistice between World Wars.

Look at Africa. By W. G. and M. S. Woolbert. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1943. Pp. 96. 25 cents.

No. 43 of the Headline Series, and contains interesting, informative materials, and some good maps of Africa.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Growth of American Thought. By Merle Curti. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. Illustrated. Pp. xvii, 848. \$5.00.

A study of American intellectual life, organized in chronological periods according to ideas which may be thought of as characteristic of the successive eras in that history.

The Revolutionary Generation: 1763-1790. By Evarts Boutell Greene. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. xvii, 487. \$4.00.

In this readable account one finds an excellent history of the years during which the whole idea of an independent America was formulated, fought for, and put into action.

World Wars and Revolutions. By Walter Phelps Hall. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. xxxiv, 406. Illustrated. \$3.50.

A history of Europe from World War I to the Tunisian campaigns in World War II. It has an excellent bibliography, and the index is comprehensive.

The Uses of Reason. By Arthur E. Murphy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. vii, 346. \$3.00.

This is a profound and scholarly philosophical discussion of human ability to reason and to get somewhere by that ability.

Twentieth Century United States: A History. By Jeannette P. Nichols. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. lxxi, 434. \$3.50.

This book represents a condensation of parts of two earlier volumes written by the author and her husband, both eminent historians, with some new materials added. It is a short, concise, interesting account of the recent history of our country. Excellent bibliography and a comprehensive index.

A Short History of American Democracy. By Roy F. Nichols and Jeannette P. Nichols. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. lxx, 626. \$3.50.

A short history of the evolution of democratic institutions in the United States prepared by abridging three earlier books, *The Growth of American Democracy*, *the Republic of the United States*, and *Twentieth Century United States*. It contains a comprehensive bibliography and is well indexed.

The Pageant of Canadian History. By Anne Merriam Peck. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1943. Pp. xii, 370. \$3.00.

Herein is an epic account of the birth and life of Canada—from the period of the French explorers through the first events of World War II—and is the story of people of various racial stocks, their activities and ambitions and cultures.

International Bearings of American Policy. By Albert Shaw. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. Pp. x, 492. \$3.50.

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